

APRIL 25, 2005

# The American Conservative

## NUCLEAR OPTION

**How U.S. Policy Makes the  
Mushroom Cloud More Likely**

## WE ARE NOT AMUSED

With regard to "Bush's Napoleon Complex" (March 28), I have stopped being impressed with anyone who does not put his e-mail address at the bottom of an article. It is a clear sign of someone who is spouting bilge and does not want to hear any feedback.

This article is gibberish. Bush invaded because the way things were going, before too many years someone from the Middle East was going to start nuking our cities.

What conservatives have started to do is to attack neoconservatives in such a fashion that the certain result is returning power to the Democrats, who are controlled by socialists bent on destroying America. That makes you a part of their socialist alliance.

If you cannot see who your true enemies are, you are contemptible. It is clear conservatives have become my enemies, as I owe my allegiance to America before politics. I have been a conservative for 30 years. No more.

Gregory Cochran is contemptible. I would like his e-mail so I can tell him that myself. But so is the editor who allowed this article to be printed. When did you people start siding with socialists? Why do you want our cities nuked? Bush is Napoleon? Oh yeah. That is much smarter than joining the socialists and saying Bush is Hitler. Much smarter. That moves your IQ up to oh, say, 20 instead of 10.

DEAN STEPHENS

*Colerain, N.C.*

## LESSER EVIL STILL EVIL

The Republican abandonment of classical conservatives has apparently resulted in a great loss of civility in GOP communications. The "Whine & Cheese" retort is an excellent example (Forum, March 28). If one can't overcome the opposition with superior policy, just shout the opposition down with insults.

I have never read where Thomas Jefferson praised a man for not being the absolute worst of his sort. In voting, we are supposed to be realizing the principles of justice, of righteousness. No election should be about who is the lesser of two evils. Political competition is supposed to be about achieving superior results, not merely a winning tally on a political scorecard.

Under the influence of the GOP, the Constitution has been shredded. Our national media speak freely of the government needing torture and severe restrictions upon civil liberties of the U.S. citizenry as a resource for the very survival of the nation.

Liberty yields opportunity. Security yields regulation. The two are not interchangeable. Once liberty becomes a commodity to be traded for personal gain, it becomes government-given rather than God-given. Let us return conservatism and liberty to the political scene by resisting, at every opportunity, the GOP leadership in its opposition to classically conservative politics.

TOM BURKE

*Culpeper, Va.*

## CHIRAC FAN CLUB

I didn't subscribe to a conservative magazine to read odes to people like Jacques Chirac, the most corrupt, mendacious "leader" in the Western world ("Mr. Bush Goes to Europe," March 28). What next, an article praising that racist thug Robert Mugabe?

CHRISTOPHER GERHARDT

*Southampton, Pa.*

## DIVIDE AND DON'T CONQUER

As a constitutional conservative, I had to respond to the letter in the March 28 issue by Tom and Karen Schindler. In reply to the statement "I do not even want to think what condition we would be in at this moment if either [Gore or Kerry] had been elected to the highest

office in the land," I would say we'd be much better off, given that the Republicans retained control of Congress.

Politics has become an our-team-vs.-your-team game. Most politicians have only three goals once elected: consolidate power; beat the other side at all costs, Constitution be damned; and get re-elected.

Hence, when Clinton was president, the Republicans in Congress actually acted conservatively and fought fairly effectively against excess spending and government growth. Contrast this to the Republicans today, who have never met a dollar they couldn't spend. Would we have the unnecessary, costly, and unconstitutional war in Iraq if Gore had won in 2000? The Homeland (In)Security Act? Had Kerry won in 2004, we would be stuck with Iraq, but I doubt we'd be considering attacking Iran.

I find Clinton, Gore, Kerry, and the rest of the liberals to be totally repulsive, but Republicans who talk conservative yet waste our money, enlarge the government, unnecessarily endanger our troops, and ignore the Constitution are worse because we let them get away with more.

Until we elect people who will uphold the Constitution, the best we can hope for is a situation in which neither side can "win." From a conservative standpoint, this is best achieved with a Democrat in the White House and Republicans in control of Congress because Republicans in Congress tend to move to the right when embattled, while Republicans in the White House tend to compromise more readily when opposed.

SAMUEL C. HOGUE

*Lugoff, S.C.*

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[DEMOCRACY]

## READING HITLER IN ISTANBUL

A good place to measure the impact of the Bush foreign policy is Turkey—a secular state with a Muslim population, a crossroads between Asia and Europe, long ranked among America's closest allies in the Muslim world, and a testing ground for the web of issues surrounding Islam, democracy, and modernity.

So what are the Turks, whose press is free, now reading for pleasure? Turns out that the big political books are not about Edmund Burke and Alexander Hamilton. Atop the bestseller lists in the last two months is ... Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf*, the Nazi dictator's early memoir and a Jew-hating blueprint for war. It vies for shelf space with such titles as *Hitler's Secretary* and *The Unknown Hitler*. A rival bestseller is *Metal Storm*, a thriller about a U.S. invasion of Turkey. The Turkish hero avenges his homeland by leveling Washington with a nuke. *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* is on sale even in department stores.

Bush and Cheney would do well to rethink their "domino theory" about spreading democracy through military invasion.

[MIDEAST]

## DOUSING THE FLAME

The flame of new momentum towards peace in the Middle East had barely begun to flicker when the Sharon government poured cold water on it. Last month, Israel confirmed plans for a new surge of settlement expansion—3,500 new units that will form an Israeli settlement ring around the eastern suburbs of Jerusalem, sealing off the Arab part of city from the rest of the West Bank in a blatant move to foreclose the possibility of a Palestinian state with Arab East Jerusalem as its capital.

In response, the Bush administration tossed some gentle rebukes in Israel's



OOOPS, WRONG DOMINO THEORY

direction, sending Deputy National Security Adviser Elliott Abrams to meet with Israeli and Palestinian officials. (How one would have liked to be a fly on the wall during Abrams's remonstrations with Tel Aviv!) Condi Rice called the settlement expansion "at odds with American policy."

It should be clear that a viable Palestinian state on the West Bank is a vital American interest. The Israeli land grab—using American bulldozers, tanks, money, and political support—is the greatest point of antagonism between the United States and the Arab world and a powerful recruiting engine for anti-American terrorists.

If President Bush is serious about protecting American interests, he will make it clear—by not sending Israel its monthly check, for example—that he is committed to a just settlement between Israel and the Palestinians.

[IMMIGRATION]

## AL-QAEDA DOES DISHES

It's starting to dawn even on members of Congress that if the borders are open to potential bus boys, terrorists can penetrate them just as easily. Tens of thousands of people who enter the U.S. from the Mexican border are not Mexicans—the government allowed 44,000 of them to enter the country pending immigra-

tion hearings in 2004 alone. These revelations led Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), a staunch supporter of guest-worker programs, to profess to be "worried about our border."

According to a new report, illegal immigration has surged since 2000, bringing the total to 10.3 million—1 in 26 Americans. Comically, this has prompted some mass-immigration boosters to suggest that our policies are too restrictive to work. They fail to consider that the law is not being adequately enforced and the promise of amnesty is being dangled in front of prospective illegals.

Apparently securing the borders, even in an age of terrorism, is yet another job Americans—at least those in the political class—won't do.

[LIBERTY]

## PATRIOTS vs. PATRIOT ACT

President Bush has always claimed to be a uniter not a divider, and on civil liberties he has been true to his word: administration policies have brought veteran conservative activists Paul Weyrich, Grover Norquist, David Keene, and former Congressman Bob Barr together with the American Civil Liberties Union to push for a re-evaluation of some of the more troubling aspects of the Patriot Act.

A group has formed under the name Patriots to Restore Checks and Balances, chaired by Barr. They have their eye on Dec. 31, when provisions of the Patriot Act dealing with surveillance are scheduled to sunset. The goal is not to gut all new law-enforcement powers designed to enhance national security but simply to revise specific sections most likely to ensnare citizens who are not engaged in terrorism. They seek stronger checks on the federal government's power to conduct searches and collect personal data on the American people and wish to correct the act's amorphous definition of terrorism to prevent it from being abused to criminalize dissent.

In times of war, government often assumes new powers without adequate debate. The Patriot Act was passed days after the Sept. 11 attacks, with little time for legislators even to read the bill. If Barr and his colleagues have their way, at least this time they will not have that excuse.

#### [CAMPUS]

### REBELS IN THEIR OWN MINDS

Neoconservatives worried that policies of military aggression and the export of manufacturing jobs might incite campus unrest can breathe easily. In a protest that bids to set the standard for sophomore self-indulgence, Georgetown University students went on hunger strikes to raise the wages of the school's janitors from \$11.33 an hour. (And eventually won their demands.)

The decline of American salaries to sub- "living wage" level is an important subject with roots in economic globalization and mass immigration. Grappling with it would require some thought, reading, and interest in the world beyond the campus. So much easier not to think about launching a war based on a lie or the rug being pulled out from under every American

with a high-school education who hopes to marry and raise a family. Just concentrate on the anguish you feel when the nice man who cleans up after you in your dorm draws a salary that makes you feel guilty.

In an apparent effort not to be outdone in the trivial protest department, Harvard students are complaining about the discontinuation of Fruit Loops and Cap'n Crunch in the dining halls. It's (almost) enough to make one nostalgic for the 1960s.

#### [BUDGET]

### PORK ON WHEELS

With oil prices around \$55 a barrel and the Middle East simmering—toward a democratic boil, we're sure—the time is nigh to reconsider America's dependence on foreign fuel. Last month the Senate voted to open the Arctic National Wildlife Reserve to drilling, but that will be a short-term remedy at best.

Enter Congressman Earl Blumenthal (D-Ore.), head of the Congressional Bike Caucus. Thanks to him, the House version of the 2005 highway bill includes \$242 million for some 158 bike and pedestrian projects. That means \$150,000 for a bike path in Trent Lott's hometown, for example.

We're all for cycling, but \$242 million for bike trails is not an inducement to save energy. It's the kind of program that merits inclusion in a recent book compiled by Citizens Against Government Waste: *The Pig Book*. The works and ways of the Congressional Bike Caucus will make a nice tandem with such items as \$50 million for an indoor rain forest in Iowa, \$1.2 million for the Mitch McConnell Conservation Fund (the majority whip, like oil, is a precious national resource in need of conservation), and \$273,000 to fight "goth culture" in Blue Springs, Missouri. Now, if only we can encourage goths to use bike trails ... ■

## The American Conservative

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## Terri Schiavo & Us

Terri Schiavo is dead. She did not die a natural death, unless you believe a court order to cut off food and water to a disabled woman is natural.

No. Terri Schiavo was executed by the state of Florida. Her crime? She was so mentally disabled as to be unworthy of life in the judgment of Judge George Greer. The execution was carried out at Woodside Hospice. An autopsy will reveal that Terri's vital organs shut down for a lack of food and water. She did not die of the brain damage she suffered 15 years ago. She was put to death. We have crossed a moral equator in America.

Michael Schiavo's argument that Judge Greer found compelling was that this is what Terri wanted and that she had told him so, though Michael never mentioned this until eight years after she was disabled.

Did Terri, at 26, really tell the man to whom she swore lifelong fidelity to find a way to kill her if she became handicapped? Is that what she had in mind when they pledged to stand by each other "in sickness and in health, till death do us part"?

Was Terri that different from her mom, dad, brother, and sister who fought with all they had to keep her alive so they could take care of her for all the years she had left? Why, one wonders, did this severely handicapped woman fight for two weeks against the "dying of the light"?

America is a great country because she is good country, and if ever she ceases to be good, she will cease to be great, Tocqueville is quoted. Are we that America today? Are we the same kind of people? Would the country we grew

up in have done this to a disabled woman?

Hubert Humphrey, a passionate liberal, once said, "the moral test of government is how [it] treats those who are in the dawn of life ... those who are in the twilight of life ... and those who are in the shadows of life."

In America, three in 10 in the dawn of life never see the light of day. They are destroyed in the womb because their very existence embarrasses or would encumber their parents. In the twilight of life, we have begun to provide our elderly ill with the means for assisted suicide. In Europe, euthanasia has become involuntary in some nursing homes. In the shadows of life—the sick, the needy, the handicapped—there is now in this land we once called God's country a chance the state will put you to death.

The motivations of the good folks praying for Terri outside the hospice one can understand. The motives of her parents one can understand. Even the motives of Michael Schiavo one can understand. He wants to be rid of Terri to start a new life with his new family.

What is inexplicable is why he did not get a divorce and let her go. What is inexplicable is the behavior of the media talking heads, who seemed so desperately anxious that the judge's ruling not be reversed and that Terri die. Why were they so pro-death?

One must not interfere in a family decision, they say. But these are the same folks who always demand interfer-

ence if a father takes a belt to discipline his 14-year-old delinquent son.

This is what Terri would have wanted, they say, we have no right to interfere. But what Terri would have wanted is unclear and in dispute. And if there is disagreement, why not come down on the side of life? Why come down on the side of death, which is final and forever? Why were so many progressives on the side of death for Terri Schiavo?

Conservatives are hypocrites, they charge. The Right opposes judicial activism and preaches states' rights, but in Terri's case, the Right clamored for judicial activism and rejected states' rights. But this is absurd. The judicial activist in Terri's case is Judge Greer, who sentenced a brain-damaged woman to death by starvation and dehydration. If this is not judicial activism, in violation of a citizen's right to life, due process of law, and not to be subjected to cruel and unusual punishment, what is?

And what is there left to say about that angel of death, the American Civil Liberties Union? As Nat Hentoff writes, the ACLU, "which would be passionately criticizing state court decisions and demanding due process if Terri were a convict on death row, has shamefully served as co-counsel for her husband, Michael Schiavo, in his insistent desire to have her die."

Whose rights were in mortal peril here? Why was the ACLU not at the door of that hospice denouncing Judge Greer the way it would be at the door of a penitentiary denouncing Jeb Bush if the ACLU even suspected an innocent man was being put to death?

We have turned a sad page in the history of America's decline. ■



[duck and cover]

# Nuclear Option

Terrorists don't need state sponsorship to visit atomic devastation on America.

By Subodh Atal

IT'S TUESDAY, SEPT. 13, 2005, noon on the East Coast and rush hour on the West Coast. Offices, businesses, roads, and mass-transit systems are bustling as America is back from its summer vacation. Almost simultaneously, nuclear devices explode with the power of the Hiroshima bomb in New York, Los Angeles, and Chicago. Devices in Washington and Atlanta fail to detonate but spread radiation through office buildings in the downtown areas. Millions die in the first three cities, while several thousand suffer acute radiation sickness in Washington and Atlanta. Confusion reigns. Emergency personnel spring into action to evacuate populations and rescue trapped survivors, but even the best planning is overwhelmed by the magnitude of the devastation and the staggering death toll.

Panic ensues, with citizens fleeing city centers, causing nationwide traffic snarls. Roadblocks and security checks slow rescue and recovery efforts. As news travels at Internet speed around the world, borders are closed and international commerce and travel grind to a halt while nations scramble to close security gaps. The American economy takes an unrecoverable blow as the nation starts to shift enormous resources towards alleviating the public-health catastrophe for the next

several years. Americans do not even get the satisfaction of avenging the attacks, since the perpetrators are suicide terrorist cells that were not state-sponsored: there is simply no link to follow to a regime that can be punished.

Is this doomsday scenario just a daydream of the most demented al-Qaeda-inspired fanatics, or is it a feasible terrorist plan that could catch us unawares, just as 9/11 did? *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof, in an op-ed in August 2004, pointed out that many experts believe insufficient attention is being paid to the risks of nuclear terrorism, and thus the chances of a nuclear detonation in an American city within a decade are high. The expected death and destruction was estimated in a 2003 report prepared for the Department of Transportation: a nuclear explosion in a U.S. city could result in 50,000 to 1,000,000 deaths, with economic devastation totaling up to \$1.4 trillion. Thus a multi-city attack could result in economic losses amounting to several times the size of the annual federal budget, with potentially millions of dead Americans.

There are two gathering global threats that must be addressed in order to minimize the risk. One is the sharp increase in anti-American terrorist networks in many European and Middle

Eastern countries. As pointed out in a recent report by the CIA's National Intelligence Council, experienced survivors of the Iraq conflict are steadily replacing the al-Qaeda network and are likely to join forces with their respective regional Islamic extremist movements. That such individuals and groups would want to wreak a nuclear 9/11 on America as asymmetrical revenge for the death and destruction in Iraq is hardly a leap of faith. The CIA report, titled "Mapping the Global Future," acknowledges this fear, pointing out that a "strong terrorist interest in acquiring chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear weapons increases the risk of a major terrorist attack involving WMD."

The second threat is the increased availability of nuclear materials and technology from insecure national arsenals, stockpiles, and nuclear reactors, as well as unscrupulous nuclear scientists. New CIA director Porter Goss, in his first testimony to the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence on Feb. 16, stated that Russian nuclear facilities have sufficient materials unaccounted for "so that it would be possible for those with know-how to construct a nuclear weapon."

An ex-Department of Energy official pointed out that Goss understated the threat; there may be enough missing

materials from the Russian inventory to make hundreds or thousands of nuclear weapons. And Russia's inadequately secured arsenal is not the only potential source of supply for terrorists with nuclear ambitions. About 1,700 metric tons of highly enriched uranium (HEU) and about 500 metric tons of enriched plutonium exist in military and civilian stockpiles globally. Terrorists can look for vulnerabilities in more than 130 research reactors using HEU worldwide, which are liable to be less secure

had discussions with Chechens in which money and drugs were offered for nuclear weapons. Bin Laden himself has been reported to have discussed nuclear-weapons design with senior Pakistani nuclear scientists.

On the supply side, there have been 10 known thefts of HEU totaling about eight kilograms, but in each case the thieves were unable to connect with buyers. But is our luck running out? FBI Director Robert Mueller, also testifying before a Senate committee in February,

Since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, the administration's attention has shifted to the nuclear programs of North Korea and Iran as potential sources for atomic terrorists. In North Korea's case, its track record of supplying weapons systems around the globe and its dire economic condition raise fears that the nation could become a supplier to would-be nuclear terrorists. Iran's long-time links to Middle Eastern terrorist groups make it another potential source of worry.

The Bush administration's core policies to address such WMD threats as nuclear terrorism are contained in the U.S. National Strategy to Combat Weapons of Mass Destruction, published by the White House in December 2002. These policies depend upon a combination of deterrence, pre-emption, new interdiction proposals to disrupt illicit nuclear trade, and the existing nonproliferation regime. In addition, the administration proposes building "mini-nukes" to target buried sites associated with WMD.

These policies, based upon deterrence and nonproliferation, work best against nation-states and regimes—the Irans and North Koreas that have the potential to act as suppliers to nuclear terrorists. A nation or regime that considers providing terrorists with weapons of mass destruction has to consider the consequences of such an act being traced back to it and the massive retaliation and universal ostracization that would befall the culprit nation. Even the most reckless regime is unlikely to consider such a suicidal action.

On the other hand, deterring transnational terrorist cells and groups, particularly those that don't have clear links to regimes, is far more problematic. For many such groups with fanatical views, massive loss of life has become part of their *modus operandi*. The threat is now shifting to an increasing number of cells

ON THE SUPPLY SIDE, THERE HAVE BEEN **10 KNOWN THEFTS OF HEU** TOTALING ABOUT **EIGHT KILOGRAMS**, BUT IN EACH CASE THE THIEVES WERE UNABLE TO CONNECT WITH BUYERS. **IS OUR LUCK RUNNING OUT?**

than military stockpiles. The planned construction of dozens of new nuclear power plants in Asia, particularly in energy-hungry countries such as China and India, could add to the number of sources for terrorists seeking nuclear materials.

The two threats represent, respectively, the demand and supply sides of a potentially catastrophic nuclear-terrorism business. Fortunately for the world and for the United States, it seems that the buyers and sellers have been unable to make a successful connection until now—but not for lack of trying.

According to the Justice Department indictment for the 1998 bombings of American embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, "At various times from at least as early as 1992, Osama bin Laden and others, known and unknown, made efforts to obtain the components of nuclear weapons." Additional evidence from a former member of al-Qaeda indicates attempts to buy uranium from South Africa and several Central Asian states. Al-Qaeda operatives have also

said that he was "very concerned" about al-Qaeda's continued aspirations to obtain WMD. With the Iraq War spawning the next generation of al-Qaeda-inspired terrorists, the pool of potential buyers is likely to grow further. It may only be a matter of time before the demand and supply ends manage to converge.

The potential for a catastrophic nuclear terrorist attack became widely recognized in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks. Numerous large-scale attacks on civilians around the globe since then have further reinforced the notion that contemporary terrorists will not hesitate to cause massive civilian casualties in pursuit of their agendas. In building its case for invading Iraq, the administration invoked the fears of Saddam supplying terrorists with weapons of mass destruction, particularly of the nuclear kind. Then-National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice stated, "We don't want the smoking gun to be a mushroom cloud" in trying to impart a sense of urgency to the administration's case for invasion.



and small groups that operate independently, without identifiable support bases yet able to carry out deadly attacks. The Madrid train bombings, for example, were carried out by men of Egyptian, Moroccan, and Tunisian descent coming together in Spain to plot the attack. The investigation has linked the cell with individuals in the Netherlands, Syria, Morocco, and France. At least one of the leaders of the Madrid cell is believed to have graduated from terrorist camps in Afghanistan, illustrating the phenomenon of the seeding of regional extremist groups with dispersed al-Qaeda trainees.

Another flaw in U.S. policies to combat WMD terrorism is the focus on the supply side of the illicit nuclear trade. As with any other business, if the demand for a particular type of goods is high, the lure of profit will beckon suppliers that can fulfill the demand. The lessons learned from combating illicit drug smuggling cannot be ignored. The massive demand for such drugs continues to overwhelm the enormous amount of resources invested by the United States. Despite collaborative efforts with other nations and various interdiction programs, a significant proportion of smuggled contraband finds its way to American streets. Conceptually, the efforts to stop terrorists from acquiring nuclear materials face similar hurdles. U.S. policy on WMD terrorism ignores the growing danger that a number of terrorist cells and groups could look at nuclear devices as an equalizing weapon, luring suppliers that have access to nuclear components.

With a number of nations looking for nuclear-weapons capability in the past decade, the Khan network quietly emerged as a global supplier. The range of products supplied by this network includes high-speed centrifuges, fissile material, and step-by-step directions for building a nuclear weapon, according to a recent *New York Times* report. Such

instructions in the hands of terrorists would greatly shorten their paths toward nuclear capability.

Despite international efforts, the Khan network has not been completely shut down. While it is known to have supplied nuclear-weapon components and designs to Libya, North Korea, and Iran, its contacts extend over several continents with links in the Middle East, South East Asia, Africa, and Europe. One report indicates that even Brazil may have plugged into the network to advance a covert nuclear program. Terrorists seeking components of nuclear weapons could tap into undiscovered segments of this vast network, some of which have been reported to be active in recent months. In addition, new supplier networks could emerge from other nations where nuclear components, particularly fissile material, are available, as pointed out by Douglas Frantz of the *Los Angeles Times*.

Once a terrorist group or cell has its hands on a relatively small amount of fissile material, constructing a device with the characteristics and power of the Hiroshima bomb is well within reach.

### **TERRORISTS DON'T NEED SPONSORSHIP FROM A NATION OR REGIME, HUGE FINANCIAL RESOURCES, OR THE CO-OPERATION OF NUCLEAR SCIENTISTS TO CREATE DEVICES WITH A YIELD SIMILAR TO THE HIROSHIMA BOMB.**

An HEU-based device would be a particular favorite for a limited-budget terrorist operation. Such a device, which combines two subcritical masses of HEU with the help of a conventional explosive charge, is considered the most likely terrorist nuclear weapon. Sixty years ago, HEU was used in the Hiroshima bomb without prior testing, indicating the confidence its builders had in the simplicity and effectiveness of such a device.

The radiation signature of HEU is very low, which means that terrorists without protective gear won't die of radiation exposure while constructing the bomb, and such a device, or the HEU itself, could be smuggled across national borders with a relatively low chance of being detected. A mere 15-50 kilograms of HEU could suffice, with the entire device measuring about a meter in length. For terrorists experienced in building hundreds of car bombs in Iraq, transport of such a device to the target would not be particularly problematic.

Thus terrorists don't need access to a ready-made nuclear weapon, sponsorship from a nation or regime, huge financial resources, or the co-operation of skilled nuclear scientists to create one or several devices with a yield similar to the Hiroshima bomb. The nightmarish scenario described at the beginning of this piece could be well within the reach of terrorists without the need for a sponsoring regime.

Policies geared towards nonproliferation among nations and state-sponsored terrorists are inadequate to address the problem of a growing number of fanati-

cal transnational groups that could gain access to nuclear components and designs. As IAEA chief Mohammed El Baradei stated recently, "We have been trying to solve these new problems with existing tools." Last year, El Baradei expressed fear that stopping nuclear terrorism is a "race against time."

That the United States, likely the most coveted target for a number of al-Qaeda-inspired groups, lags in its policies to prevent nuclear terrorism, is eloquently

voiced by Graham Allison, former assistant secretary of defense for policy and author of the 2004 book *Nuclear Terrorism: The Ultimate Preventable Catastrophe*. In Allison's words, "the list of actions not taken by the [Bush] administration remains lengthy and worrisome."

Allison's recommendations focus on tightening controls on the supply end of the nuclear terrorism trade. He argues that the United States is not moving fast enough to deny terrorists access to nuclear weapons or materials and calls

United States, there is little evidence that policy changes will be made in the second Bush term.

In his inaugural address, President Bush emphasized freedom and democracy around the world while neglecting the twin gathering threats of anti-American transnational groups and loose nuclear materials. Secretary of State, Condoleezza Rice, in remarks at her Senate confirmation hearings, said, "As long as the broader Middle East remains a region of tyranny and despair and

With democracy in other nations providing no certificate of safety for Americans, the United States should be looking for an exit strategy from Iraq and should not get drawn into other democracy-at-gunpoint adventures. Richard Betts, writing in *Foreign Affairs* in 1998, pointed out, "reducing the odds of attacks in the United States might require pulling back from involvement in some foreign conflicts." Foreseeing the emerging risks, Betts further stated, "If terrorists decide that they want to stun American policymakers by inflicting enormous damage, WMD become more attractive at the same time that they are becoming more accessible."

Betts's observations are even more valid today than they were seven years ago. The administration's broad goal of achieving an abstract sense of security through enforced global democracy is in contention with the more concrete aim of protecting the American homeland. The growing anti-Americanism around the globe that could breed nuclear terrorists can only be defused if America begins to reserve foreign military interventions for legitimate national-security situations. Such a limited intervention policy is the missing link that will fortify the U.S. strategy to combat nuclear terrorism; simply tightening controls on supplies of nuclear components and deterring state-sponsors will be inadequate. ■

*Subodh Atal is an independent foreign policy analyst with interests in U.S. grand strategy and nuclear proliferation.*

RICHARD BETTS, WRITING IN **FOREIGN AFFAIRS** IN 1998, POINTED OUT, "REDUCING THE ODDS OF ATTACKS IN THE UNITED STATES MIGHT REQUIRE PULLING BACK FROM INVOLVEMENT IN SOME FOREIGN CONFLICTS."

for a new international security order based on closing the gaps in security of nuclear arsenals and preventing the spread of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear nations.

President Bush, after according a lower priority to Russia's insecure arsenal in his first term and during last year's presidential campaign, is now paying attention. During his European visit in February, the president signed an agreement with Russian President Vladimir Putin that includes sharing of information on improving security at nuclear sites, continuing efforts to repatriate U.S.- and Russian-origin fresh and spent HEU fuel from research reactors around the world, and promoting the use of low-enriched uranium for use as a replacement for HEU.

Such measures, while necessary to improve security of nuclear materials and components, still do not address the demand side of the nuclear-terrorism problem. While the CIA and FBI chiefs appear to recognize the growing and converging threats that exacerbate the risk of a nuclear terrorist attack in the

anger, it will produce extremists and movements that threaten the safety of Americans and our friends."

In this all-encompassing focus on bringing democracy to the world in order to make Americans safe, Secretary Rice and President Bush are overlooking the fact that the biggest surge in terrorist cells and networks since the Iraq invasion has been among Muslims living in democratic Europe. Surely cities such as Madrid, Amsterdam, and Paris would not fit the Bush administration's definition of "terrorist-breeding outposts of tyranny." And neither would India, free and democratic for nearly six decades, while at the same time plagued with terrorism in various regions for most of that time.

Before the Bush administration plunges into another war in the Middle East, it should pay close attention to the consequences of the Iraq invasion. Toppling Saddam Hussein has come with a heavy price—and not just in terms of 1,500 dead troops. Terrorist networks have sprung up across the globe, many of them aiming for America.

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# I Pledge Allegiance to the State

What happens when conservatives forget Burke and Kirk

By William S. Lind

WERE SAMUEL JOHNSON to pay a visit to our unhappy time, he might revise his famous maxim that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel. Rather, he might say that scoundrels find their last refuge, or perhaps their first, not in patriotism but in nationalism. For conservatives, the distinction is an important one. It is also very old.

Historian Arnold Toynbee calls nationalism a religion, specifically a form of “man-worship.” (He cautions that technology is another.) Conservatives are wary of man-made religions: in *The Politics of Prudence* Russell Kirk notes, “Being neither a religion nor an ideology, the body of opinion termed conservatism possesses no Holy Writ...” Nor does it worship at the altar of *la Patrie*.

In one of the more important books of our time, *The Rise and Decline of the State*, Martin van Creveld traces abstract nationalism of the sort now prevalent on the American Right to conservatism’s original enemies, the *philosophes* and the French Revolution:

Even as the state was reaching maturity around the middle of the eighteenth century, however, forces were at work which were about to transform it from an instrument (to bring order) into an end and, later, a living god ...

The man who did more than anyone else to start the Great

Transformation was, perhaps, Jean-Jacques Rousseau ... It was only in the years after 1789, when some of the intellectuals came to power and when their ruminations were married to the pretensions of the state, that ... nationalism took on an aggressive, bellicose character.

... [T]he magnitude of the task can be judged from the fact that, in 1789, [France] was still divided into eighty provinces, each of which had its separate laws, customs, and political traditions. What patriotic feelings existed among the people at large were almost entirely local ...

In his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Edmund Burke addressed the same point: France’s traditional division into age-old provinces and the abolition of those provinces by the revolutionaries. He did so in a way that makes clear the distinction between abstract nationalism and conservative patriotism, which is local and concrete:

It is boasted ... that all local ideas should be sunk, and that the people should no longer be Gascons, Picards, Bretons, Normans; but Frenchmen, with one country, one heart, and one Assembly. ... No man ever was attached by a sense of pride, partiality, or real affection, to a description of square measure-

ment. ... We begin our public affections in our families. We pass on to our neighborhoods, and our habitual provincial connexions. ... Such divisions of our country as have been formed by habit, and not by a sudden jerk of authority, were so many little images of the great country in which the heart found something which it could fill.

From Burke to Kirk, this has been the essence of conservative patriotism, or, as it used to be called, a love of our country: specific attachment to our own places, our farms and firesides, our towns and our old schools, our valleys, hills, or plains. As an Amish friend, David Kline, says, “The reason we drive buggies instead of cars is that it forces life to be local.” The local is real, and the first conservative principle is the Reality Principle. To a conservative patriot Wal-Mart is a far greater threat than some tin-pot dictator in a Third World country. (Burke: “A war for the Scheldt? A war for a chamberpot!”)

Nationalism, in contrast, looks outward, identifying not with anything tangible but with the abstract that is the state: the Fatherland, the Motherland, *la Patrie*, “the republic for which it stands.” Inherent in it is a tendency to define one’s own nation as superior to everyone else’s, and as history since 1789 shows all too clearly, to wage unlimited wars in hope of establishing



that definition as fact. Russell Kirk had this to say about forcing Americanism on the rest of the world:

So America's contribution to the universal 'democratic capitalism' of the future ... will be just this: cheapness, the cheapest music and the cheapest comic-books and the cheapest morality that can be provided. This indeed would be the revolution of revolutions, the Gehenna of universal monotony and mediocrity. This is Cyrus P. Whittle, telling himself that not only is America the biggest thing on earth, but America soon is going to wipe out everything else; and in the dazzling delirious joy of that consummation, forgetting to ask what will happen afterward.

Some thoughtful conservative and libertarian observers see a danger of fascism in the abstract nationalism that has largely displaced conservative patriotism on the American Right. They are correct in perceiving a danger, but I do not think that danger can rightly be labeled "fascism." True, fascism incorporated abstract nationalism. But the core idea of fascism was will as the highest good. Fascism sought to drop the entire Judeo-Christian content of Western culture and return to the values of classical antiquity, where power was the highest good. (What astonished Greeks and Romans about Christianity was not that it had a Savior who had risen from the dead; many eastern mystery cults claimed the same. What astonished them was that these Christians' God said, "I came not to be served, but to serve.") The exercise of power was the supreme moral act.

In attempting to turn an instrumental value, will, into a substantive value, fascism made a fatal error. In reality, will is good or evil depending on what is willed. Will as a substantive value

destroyed fascism: it led to Mussolini's entry into World War II—had he remained neutral, like Franco, he might well have survived Hitler's defeat; to Hitler's offhand declaration of war on America—even after Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt would have had trouble getting an offensive declaration of war on Germany through Congress; and ultimately to the Holocaust—when the Nazis' original aim of expelling the Jews from Europe became impossible because there was no place to send them, will demanded a Final Solution.

Thankfully, America has a long way to go before "triumph of the will" can become the American creed. The Christians who make up George W. Bush's political base would gag well before reaching that point; they know their Bible better than that.

But nationalism alone, without fascism, can still point a dagger at the heart of liberty. We have seen that before in America's history, in Lincoln's many unconstitutional acts during the Civil War, in the violent anti-German hysteria that accompanied our entry into World War I, and in the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II. More, abstract nationalism is today compounded into a poisonous brew with other threats to liberty, all traditionally regarded warily by conservative patriots.

The first of these is war, and not just any kind of war but war for an abstract principle. It could be said that George W. Bush's second inaugural address gave freedom a bad name. (It was Rousseau, not Burke, who said "we must force men to be free.") If America has gone to war "with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in our world," as Mr. Bush said, then we indeed face permanent war for permanent peace. War, far more than Roosevelt's New Deal, created the vastly powerful federal government American citizens now confront. One need not be an Orwell scholar to envision what per-

manent war is likely to do to what remain of our liberties, though *Brave New World* seems our more likely fate.

To war is then added ideology, and worse, a compound of ideologies, all inimical to our traditions. The cultural Marxism of the Frankfurt School, of Horkheimer and Adorno, of Fromm, Reich, and Marcuse, disguised as "political correctness" and "multiculturalism," is now the *de facto* American state ideology. Woe betide the politician or simple university student who dares to contradict it; he must grovel in endless apologies and self-criticism sessions, equivalent to the Hindu purification ritual known suggestively as "the five products of the cow."

To cultural Marxism, hideous enough on its own, we have added another ideology, the "democratic capitalism" of the neocons. Concerning these, the good Dr. Kirk wrote, quoting an unnamed "highly distinguished historian": "I have burned my bridges ... with the neo-conservatives, who are selfish and uninstructed radicals and progressives, wishing to pour cement all over the country and make the world safe for democracy, well beyond the dreams of Wilson. A feeling for the land, for its conservation, and for the strong modesty of a traditional patriotism (as distinct from nationalism) none of them has."

Kirk leads again to Burke, who, looking through time's telescope, points to "the most pernicious of all factions: factions in the interest and under the direction of foreign powers. From that worst of evils, thank God, we are still free." We men of 18th-century England, yes, but not we Americans today, as anyone familiar with the neocons knows all too well.

As if these were not enough, to them we must add the congressional-military-industrial complex, as President Eisenhower intended to say before Sherman Adams convinced him to drop the refer-

ence to Congress as impolitic. The need to keep the swill flowing to the greatest trough in the world reinforces the follies of ideology and abstract nationalism; those who oppose either must do battle armed with mere ideas, while their opponents have heaps of money. Liberty may never be free, but too many champions of liberty have their price.

Finally, we face an already too powerful national-security state, before which every citizen is nearly naked every time he attempts to board an aircraft. *Nationalsicherheitsstaat* also contracts conveniently to Nazi, and all of the above adds up, if not to fascism, certainly not to the kind of country conservative patriots used to value. We are a long way from the Shire.

It would seem that only one event is wanting to propel everything conservatives from Burke to Kirk have valued into the abyss, and that event is likely: a terrorist attack on American soil involving a nuclear or genetically-engineered biological weapon. If 3,000 dead on 9/11 gave us the Patriot Act, what Super-Patriot (more precisely, Super-Nationalist) Act will emerge from 30,000 dead or 300,000 dead? As they cower under their beds, begging Big Brother to protect them, will Americans deny the national-security state any power? Those who dare write in these pages may find ourselves on our way to the spa at Guantanamo. Could any of us have imagined, five years ago, that we would have to ask whose Cuban torture chambers are worse, Castro's or our own?

Yet that is not how I think it will end. As van Creveld argues, nationalism died in Europe in World War I in the mud of Flanders: "Reveling in total war, the state demanded and obtained sacrifice on a scale which, had they been able to imagine it, would have made even the old Aztec gods blanch."

The nationalists and the neocons have made a blunder: they have tied

their future to a war, the war in Iraq, and they have lost that war. The casualties in Iraq are not on the same level as the Somme or Verdun, but over 1,500 young Americans dead and over 10,000 wounded, not to mention \$300 billion down the drain, will be enough to sour the American people on wars fought to impose freedom on the world. Instead of a surge of nationalism, of demands for more wars in places remote to America's interests, I think the American people's reaction to failure in Iraq will be a profound bitterness and a turning inward.

The establishment dreads such a turning, but conservative patriots should welcome it. Therein lies an opportunity—not by any means a certainty, but a chance—of restoring the

American Republic as the rightful antidote to the follies of nationalism and of empire and their consequences.

Conservative patriots have much work to do if we are to accomplish such a restoration. Restoration has always been the central conservative challenge, and we have not always met it well, as the Houses of Stuart and Bourbon can both attest. It will be no easy thing to lead our fellow citizens, and fellow conservatives, away from the foxfire light of nationalism and back to conservative patriotism, to thinking locally and acting locally. ■

*William S. Lind is Director of the Center for Cultural Conservatism at the Free Congress Foundation in Washington, D.C.*

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# Party Crashing

A paleo's-eye view at the Star Trek convention of the American Right

By Marcus Epstein

AFTER SHOWING the federal security guards my driver's license, I walked through the metal detector. Beep! Between my suit and overcoat, I must have had over a dozen pockets, and I didn't feel like figuring out which one held my change, so they scanned my jacket and I walked through again. This time I made it without trouble, but there were still old ladies waiting for security guards to pass wands over them to make sure they weren't hiding knives beneath their broaches.

No, I was not getting aboard an airplane but entering the 32nd annual Conservative Political Action Conference (CPAC). With the exclusion of the year I was abroad, I have made the three-hour drive from the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, where I am now a senior, to the conference every year of college. In the past, it was held at a hotel in Crystal City, Virginia, but this year it took place at the Reagan Building in Washington, D.C.

In many ways this is appropriate; a giant federal building next door to the headquarters of the IRS is an ironic comment on conservatives who have made peace with big government. The guards and metal detectors represent the movement's main passion, the national-security state. And the fact that the only reason they decided to move it is because the building is named after Ronald Reagan suggests attendees' primary preoccupation: putting a simulacrum of our 40th president on everything from the \$10 bill to Mt. Rushmore. A number of people at the conference

were wearing shirts and hats that piously stated, "God, Reagan, Bush."

CPAC, sponsored by the American Conservative Union (ACU), is the largest gathering of conservative activists in the country. Neoconservative Marshall Wittmann derisively calls it the Star Trek convention for conservatives. While I have never been to a Star Trek convention (really!), from my second-hand impressions, this description is apt. Several dozen conservative organizations and a few vendors set up booths where would-be inductees can learn about the various groups, sign up for their mailing lists, and buy their products. Simultaneously, conservative activists, politicians, and intellectuals give speeches to a fawning audience around the clock.

The major attractions this year were Vice President Cheney, Karl Rove, several senators, Ann Coulter, and Newt Gingrich. I will confess that I didn't listen to most of their speeches; I knew what to expect. I walked into Miss Coulter's speech halfway through and within 15 seconds I heard her utter "there's a difference between free speech and treason" and promptly exited. This is not to say that ACU did not manage to find some interesting speakers, though *American Conservative* editors Patrick Buchanan and Philip Giraldi were not given the opportunity to talk directly about foreign policy. Former Congressman Bob Barr gave a passionate speech against invasions of civil liberties in the post-9/11 era, and a very thoughtful debate was held on immigration policy

with Phyllis Schlafly and Numbers USA's Roy Beck debating Tamar Jacoby and Stephen Moore.

The only antiwar voice that got a chance to speak directly against the administration's foreign policy was the venerable John Basil Utley of Conservatives for Peace. Mr. Utley was given a mere three minutes on a 10-man panel, and I heard several people cough obscenities about him as he spoke. He undoubtedly received the coolest response of any of the speakers.

I spent several hours at the Conservatives for Peace booth. The group is an offshoot of Americans Against World Empire, which was started by antiwar conservatives and libertarians during the first Gulf War. They had copies of Ivan Eland's *The Empire Has No Clothes*, this magazine, *Sobran's*, and various articles by Paul Craig Roberts, Charley Reese, Pat Buchanan, and others. While a few well-known antiwar libertarians such as Dr. Eland and James Bovard stopped by with words of support, the most common response from attendees was to call the people manning the table leftists, unpatriotic, or communists. The last accusation is especially ironic as Mr. Utley was an outspoken Cold Warrior and is the son of the great anticommunist Freda Utley.

While the Conservatives for Peace booth was not very popular, an outfit selling "Freedom Gear" was. Their tasteful t-shirts included one with a likeness of an Abrams tank and the words "Iraqi Roadkill Is What's For Dinner." Another had a Frenchman waving a white flag



and the words, “We Salute You.” When the vendor asked me if I would like to buy the shirt, I told him that I didn’t think the French were cowardly. He snapped back that they quickly negotiated peace in World War II and would not let us use their airfields during our latest war. I explained to him that 1.3 million French died in World War I, more than all American war deaths in history, and since over 100,000 died during World War II, their reluctance to fight is understandable. I also asked how he would like it if the French wanted to put troops in America. The response I got from the several people who had gathered around was, “What are you, a Democrat?” This apparently meant communist because they also sold shirts that said, “What Blue States? All I see is Red” with hammers and sickles strewn across the West Coast, Northeast, and Upper Midwest.

It seems that what I thought was just a “two minute hate” against the French and other pet enemies of the Right has now become over two years of hate. At a cocktail party sponsored by the Inter-collegiate Studies Institute, I had joked with a fellow young conservative that I was glad when the Dixie Chicks were boycotted by country radio for criticizing President Bush—not because of their politics but because I didn’t like their music. She told me that they were her favorite band, but she destroyed all their records and still doesn’t listen to them. She said she didn’t like country musicians who shoved their politics down the fans’ throats. Apparently this didn’t apply to Toby Keith, Darryl Worley, Montgomery Gentry, or the other country artists who supported the war much more actively than the Dixie Chicks opposed it.

One of the most interesting things I noted was the burgeoning movement to draft Condoleezza Rice to run for president in 2008. When I talked to a few people wearing “Draft Condi” buttons to

find out why they thought she should become president, the only answers I got were that she was intelligent and supported the president. All of them denied that they wanted her to run because she was a black female, but they did not question that this fact had its political utility. My initial response was that her race and sex were unlikely to gain points from the professional anti-racists or even from minority and women voters. I learned, however, that the main reason they thought her race was useful was not because she would deflect accusations of racism (not that they didn’t entertain the possibility), but because it could help expose left-wing racism—whatever that means.

Secretary Rice may be quite conservative, but the only thing I knew about her was that she was willing to lie to help the president go to war and that she supports affirmative action. A few weeks after the conference, I read that she is also pro-choice. If she turns out to be pro-gay marriage and for increasing federal spending, as well, I doubt it will do

and supporters of homosexual marriage were not greeted with unqualified acceptance at CPAC, they were both treated with much more respect than anyone who opposed the war. That people like Rudy Giuliani and Arnold Schwarzenegger are hailed as conservative heroes shows that many conservatives are willing to sacrifice almost any principle for electoral success and war.

Another general observation was that college students are much more likely to be unyielding Bush loyalists than older conservatives. I talked to numerous people who were in their mid-twenties to early thirties who agreed with me on many issues like immigration and foreign policy. The president and vice president of the ACU, David Keene and Donald Devine, have both expressed skepticism of the neoconservatives, blind support for President Bush, and our current foreign adventures. While they may bite their tongues to ensure that they can get big-name politicians to speak at their events—Mr. Devine was nearly fired for being insufficiently enthusiastic about

**I TOLD HIM THAT I DIDN'T THINK THE FRENCH WERE COWARDLY. HE SNAPPED BACK THAT THEY QUICKLY NEGOTIATED PEACE IN WORLD WAR II AND WOULD NOT LET US USE THEIR AIRFIELDS DURING OUR LATEST WAR.**

much to deflect conservative enthusiasm for her. Supporting George W. Bush and whatever wars he decides to fight seems to be only litmus test.

In fact, if one thing was apparent from CPAC, it is that foreign policy has become the defining issue for the Right, and anyone who opposes endless war will be derided as a liberal, anti-American, or worse. This is done at the expense of all domestic concerns—both social and economic. Although *New York Post* editor Ryan Sager complained that open-borders advocates

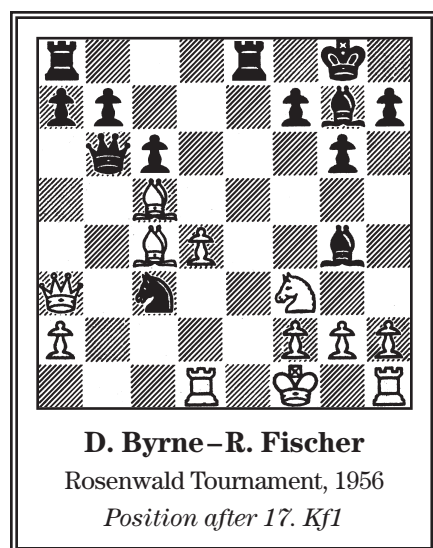
President Bush’s address to the ACU last year—and neoconservative foundation money, they at least remember a conservative movement that used to stand for limited government and a national-interest foreign policy.

But most college students, who came of age as conservatives in the post-9/11 world, identify conservatism as support for the war in Iraq and President Bush. Russell Kirk, Ludwig von Mises, and Richard Weaver, if they have even heard of them, are seen as thoughtful but irrelevant—and certainly not as fun as

having David Horowitz and Ann Coulter tell you how to accuse your professors of treason.

Sam Francis, who died a few days before the conference, spent the last 15 years explaining why the conservative movement has been a failure. From the mood of most of the attendees at CPAC, you would not get that impression. Rather, they were exuberant, triumphalist. Republicans control both houses of Congress, the presidency, and the majority of the governorships across the country. Fox News and the Internet give the Right a voice alongside the traditionally liberal print and television media. But what very few would admit, or even care about, is that government is still getting bigger, abortion is no closer to being banned than it was 20 years ago, homosexual marriage seems to be inevitable, and immigration is inundating our country at unprecedented rates. If electing Republicans and waging wars is the gauge, then the movement has been a gleaming success. But if that becomes conservatism's *raison d'être*, we can pray for nothing more than its failure. ■

*Marcus Epstein is a student at the College of William and Mary.*



## The Knock on the Door

The War on Terror comes home—to a veteran in Iowa.

**By Dave Lindorff**

THE POST 9/11 ERA has accelerated a trend not just toward pressure on First Amendment freedoms but toward proactive attacks on free-speech rights. Formerly sleepy federal agencies with police functions have been folded into the new Department of Homeland Security, where the focus is the so-called War on Terror. That militant mentality, coupled with unprecedented approval for pre-emptive action, threatens to create a new class of potential terrorists among our own citizens.

Meet Kenneth Tennant, a 46-year-old disabled Army veteran who learned that expressing frustrations to the Veterans Administration can mean an early morning knock on the door, arrest at the hands of Homeland Security agents, and a night in the can.

Tennant left the Army in 1989 with a disabling disease called fibromyalgia, reminiscent of Gulf War syndrome. (He attributes it to vaccines administered to him as a combat medic trainee). His disease causes joint and muscle problems and a general malaise, determined by the VA back in 1995 to be service-connected, though Tennant was classified as just 10 percent disabled. As his ailment progressed, it became hard for him to work full time, and he pressed to be reclassified as more severely disabled. After battling the VA for nearly a decade, in 2003 he finally won a ruling declaring him to be 40 percent disabled. But Tennant wasn't satisfied. He felt the ruling should be retroactive, at least as far back 1995.

For the past three years, the frustrated Bettendorf, Iowa resident and part-time chiropractor did verbal battle with the regional office of the VA in Des Moines, making phone calls to officials and sending letters—sometimes even to officials' homes if he could locate them (and in one case to a VA employee's spouse).

Last August, he apparently sent one too many sets of letters—this time a photocopied flier that featured an image of a finger-pointing Uncle Sam saying, "I lied about Vets benefits ..." followed by a list of charges linking the VA and the military to a spate of diseases allegedly caused by vaccines.

Over the next several weeks, Tennant was contacted multiple times by Steven Familo, an agent of the Federal Protective Service, an agency that formerly was part of the General Services Administration charged with protecting federal property but which is now part of Homeland Security. Familo warned Tennant he was being investigated.

Then on Nov. 5, 2004, at 8:15 in the morning, Tennant heard a banging on the door of his home and opened it to find Familo, another FPS agent, and two local Bettendorf police officers on the porch demanding that he "step outside." They told him that he was under arrest. With his six- and eight-year-old children crying inside and his wife throwing up in distress, he says federal agents ordered him to put his hands on his head and then to bend over—a painful exercise for him with his disease. "They were

yelling at me like I was a violent criminal and like I was being uncooperative,” he recalls.

Tennant was handcuffed and driven several hours away to the Polk County jail in Des Moines, where he was locked up for 12 hours while his wife struggled to raise bail money. While there, he was charged with a low-level misdemeanor that ordinarily does not entail arrest but which is usually, according to Bettendorf Police Chief Phil Reddington, handled with a citation and a summons for an appearance in traffic court.

Wil Calvey, the special agent in charge at the FPS regional office in Des Moines, states that Tennant at no time made any threats to VA officials. “He

have seen a marked increase in federal efforts to silence people like Tennant.

“There are a whole range of free speech and assembly incidents where the federal government is becoming quick on the trigger,” he says. At the Republican National Convention in New York last August, the Secret Service pressed local police to undertake preventive arrests, he notes, for example arresting everyone who wandered into Herald Square after undercover police heard that there were plans to do a sit-down protest there. “They were arresting people before they did anything, on the mere suspicion that they might be planning to participate in a protest,” he says.

**“ARRESTING HIM ON THIS CHARGE WAS A TERRIBLE WASTE OF POLICE RESOURCES. THE GOVERNMENT WAS VERY AGGRESSIVE HERE, AND IT SEEMS CLEAR THEY WERE TRYING TO SEND HIM A MESSAGE.”**

was annoying and harassing them,” he says. As he told the *Quad City Times* a day after the arrest, the FPS, since 9/11, is taking a “more proactive” response to such cases. “We are trying to nip these things in the bud rather than let them escalate into a greater problem,” he told the paper. “When you let things go, and people are not punished, they get worse and you have an increased chance of an incident where someone is injured or killed.”

Asked when writing letters and making phone calls crosses the line from being legitimate First Amendment expression and the constitutionally protected right to seek redress of grievances and becomes a crime or a threat of violence and death, he said, “That’s hard for me to answer.”

Jeffrey Fogel, legal director at the New York-based Center for Constitutional Rights, says the last few years

Similarly, the Secret Service has been instructing local police at the scene of presidential or vice-presidential public appearances to establish remote, fenced-in “free speech zones” for protesters and to remove and arrest those who try to stand with presidential backers along the route of a presidential caravan. “They’re using a new federal ordinance that allows the Secret Service to set up ‘restrictive zones’ around presidential visits,” says Fogel. “But then they interpret the regulations to permit presidential supporters to be inside the zone, while excluding and arresting protesters or opponents of the president who are inside it.”

Such practices are not limited to the president or to Republicans. Boston police set up a fenced-in “protest zone” for demonstrations during the Democratic Convention last year, too, without complaint from Democratic Party officials.

“I’m sure some people genuinely fear terrorism and violence,” says Fogel, “but I also think this new proactive approach is really an excuse to prevent criticism of public officials and government policies.”

Carl Rusnok, director of communications for the central region of the Immigration and Customs Enforcement division of Homeland Security, says Tennant was arrested in part because his complaints were considered by the VA to be illegitimate. “If he had a legitimate complaint, he could probably have written 100 letters,” he says. Rusnok also argues that Tennant “didn’t make use of the avenues of complaint that were available to him, like writing his congressman.”

In fact, Tennant says he complained not just to his own congressional representative, Jim Nussle, but also to other members of the Iowa delegation—to no avail. “They blew me off,” he says. Asked for a comment on his case, a spokeswoman for Nussle said the congressman couldn’t comment “for legal and privacy reasons.”

“They clearly could have issued him a citation,” says Bob Rigg, who heads the Drake University legal clinic in Des Moines. “Arresting him on this charge was a terrible waste of police resources. The government was very aggressive here, and it seems clear they were trying to send him a message.”

Tennant, who was found guilty in late February by a traffic court judge in a hearing at which he had no attorney, and who is still awaiting sentencing, says he sees the whole incident as an effort to silence him. “This is an act of domestic terrorism,” he says. ■

*Dave Lindorff is an investigative journalist and columnist for Counterpunch. He is author of This Can't Be Happening! Resisting the Disintegration of American Democracy.*



[starring Pahlavi as Chalabi]

# Operation Iranian Freedom?

Same director, similar script. We're beginning to think we've seen this movie before ...

**By Leon Hadar**

AFTER LIVING IN the nation's capital for several years I can tell you that it's not a big deal to find yourself in the same room with some of the city's power players. Just get the Boys Choir of Bentonville, Arkansas to confirm that you are the "Washington correspondent" for their newsletter, and you will probably be issued an official press pass, allowing you to attend briefings, hearings, think-tank discussions, and diplomatic receptions where you would have an opportunity to meet this undersecretary or that senator. But these encounters usually take place in formal settings where aides to the Big Shot ensure that you won't get more than a phony smile and a few empty refrains.

It's not surprising, therefore, that the really cool thing in Washington is the unexpected encounter with the Powerful and Mighty, for example, when you notice that congressman and his wife (?) having a drink in a dark corner of the bar or when you run into the FBI director shopping for underwear at Bloomingdale's.

A few years ago, I was sitting in a movie theater in Washington and in the row in front of me were Alan Greenspan and Andrea Mitchell holding hands. Then there was that time I bumped into James Baker in an ice-cream parlor wearing shorts and eating frozen yogurt (vanilla). And then I had that chance encounter with Reza Pahlavi, the son of the late Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi.

I ran into young Reza in the checkout line at Safeway while buying milk and grapefruit juice. It took me a few minutes to recognize His Imperial Majesty, whom I remembered from watching television in the late 1970s, when as a teenager Reza joined his terminally ill father in exile. I didn't know whether I should bow in the presence of the pretender to the Iranian throne, but then he looked at my carton of milk and bottle of juice and said with that certain dignity only Real Royals project, "You have only two items. You should stand in the express line."

That was a classy act. If only his dad had displayed those kind of leadership qualities when dealing with Khomeini. So you can imagine that since that moving encounter, I have had a soft spot for His Highness. But I didn't think about Pahlavi Jr. until recently, when President Bush, the star of that Let's-Remake-the-Middle-East reality show, turned his attention to Iran, ready to utter those two words that get the neocon juices flowing: "You're Bombed!"

I've seen the name of the Virginia-based son of the last Shah mentioned in newspaper reports as the man that Bush administration officials regard as their most promising ally in the campaign to achieve the next regime change in the Middle East. Indeed, "united by the desire for regime change in Iran and encouraged by the overthrow of the

Iraqi regime, exiled Iranian monarchists are developing an alliance in Washington with influential neo-conservatives as well as Pentagon officials and Israeli lobby groups," reported Guy Dinmore and Najmeh Bozorgmehr in the *Financial Times*. In fact, supporters of my old check-out line acquaintance "see a role model [for Pahlavi] in Ahmad Chalabi, head of the Iraqi National Congress who is backed by powerful figures in the Pentagon as a future leader in Baghdad committed to a secular, pro-western democracy," according to the *FT*. The piece was published a few months before Chalabi was accused of passing U.S. military secrets to Iranian agents and switched from being the darling of Douglas Feith and Richard Perle to a political ally of anti-American Shi'ite Muslim cleric Muqtada al-Sadr. (I once encountered Chalabi washing his hands in the men's room at the Cato Institute, but that took place in a formal setting and lacked that sense of surprise and intimacy that defined my Pahlavi-at-Safeway experience.)

To paraphrase Karl Marx and add a Yogi Berra touch, listening to what former fans of Chalabi are saying about Pahlavi reminds one that *déjà vu* repeats itself all over again, first as tragedy, second as farce. Michael Ledeen has described Pahlavi as "widely admired inside Iran, despite his refreshing lack of avidity for power or wealth," while another AEI res-

ident, Reuel Marc Gerecht, contends that there is a growing “nostalgia” for the Shah’s son inside Iran.

These kind of assessments were made with regard to Chalabi on the eve of regime change in Iraq: he was a member of a distinguished Shi’ite family who enjoyed strong support in the Old Country; he was a secular democrat and would help create a pro-American Iraq and would establish ties with Israel. And not unlike Chalabi, who succeeded in charming Congress and the media, thus winning huge stipends from the U.S. taxpayers, Pahlavi and a bunch of obscure and shadowy “pro-democracy” Iranian groups, television, radio stations, and websites are now at the receiving end of American welfare.

Hence, Sen. Sam Brownback has championed legislation that would channel millions to royalist radio and television stations that call for an uprising against the ayatollahs, while Sen. Rick Santorum and Sen. John Cornyn have been pushing the Iran Freedom and Support Act, which calls on the administration to promote regime change in Iran and help fund the transition to democracy through organizations associated with Pahlavi. Hundreds of millions of dollars could end up in the hands of Chalabi-like Iranian figures and their shady American operators, giving them more financial resources to manipulate the American media and lobby Congress for even more funds. The result of such a massive PR effort—the formation of “pro-democracy” front-organizations in the form of think tanks and news outlets, the planting of disinformation in American and foreign media, the provision of financial and political backing to friendly lawmakers—would create political momentum for a military confrontation.

The same guys who convinced Americans to buy a broken camel from con man Chalabi are now trying to persuade

them to purchase a used rug from Pahlavi. The heir to the Peacock Throne has been schmoozing around in Washington with the members of such outlets as the Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs (surprised to learn that Richard Perle, James Woolsey, and Michael Ledeen are on its board of directors?), the Hudson Institute, AEI, and, well, you can guess the rest. The Persian Prince has also been the subject of admiring profiles in the American press, including the pro-war-but-now-having-second-thoughts *New Republic*, which noted that he has even “quietly met” with Israeli officials and complained that Pahlavi was getting a diplomatic cold shoulder from Colin Powell’s State Department.

But now that we are supposedly witnessing the coming of the democratic spring in the Middle East, one can expect that under Condoleezza Rice and her two assistants, Elizabeth Cheney (Middle East) and Karen Hughes (propaganda), warm thoughts will be emanating from Foggy Bottom in the direction of old “pro-democracy” outfits such as the Committee on the Present Danger

the latter is headed by Bahman Bat-manghelidj (known as “Batman”), a real-estate dealer in Virginia who filed for bankruptcy in 1996. Rational-choice theory would probably have something to say about why Chalabi, “Batman,” and other failed Middle Eastern businessmen seem to gravitate towards U.S.-financed regime-change campaigns.

“To the Iranian people, I say tonight: As you stand for your own liberty, America stands with you,” Bush declared in his State of the Union address, a commitment reiterated by Rice during her recent European trip where she astonished a group of French policy analysts when she characterized the Iranian state as “totalitarian.” Cheney expressed on “Imus in the Morning” his concern with Iran’s “fairly robust nuclear program” and threatened to unleash Israeli military power against it. Bush similarly expressed his sympathy with Israel’s concerns over Iran’s nuclear threat, leading Israeli columnist Uri Avnery to complain, “it is not very flattering to be paraded like a Rottweiler on a leash, whose master threatens to let him loose on his enemies.”

**NOT UNLIKE CHALABI, WHO SUCCEEDED IN CHARMING CONGRESS AND THE MEDIA, THUS WINNING HUGE STIPENDS FROM THE U.S. TAXPAYERS, PAHLAVI IS NOW AT THE RECEIVING END OF AMERICAN WELFARE.**

and the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies as well as new ones like the Coalition for Democracy in Iran (yes, Woolsey and Perle are listed as “individuals expressing support”) and the Alliance for Democracy in Iran, which sources quoted by the *FT*’s Dinmore describe as an “opposition umbrella group that would act as a ‘clearing house’ for US taxpayers’ money dedicated to advancing the cause of democracy.” According to Dinmore,

As occurred in the months leading up to the invasion of Iraq, Bush, Cheney, Rice, and the neocon-backed nexus of propaganda outlets and exile groups have been promoting a campaign that utilizes a mix of truths, half-truths, gossip, and innuendo. The aim: proving to the world that Iran is pursuing an ambitious nuclear-weapons program that violates international arms-control accords and poses a threat to American interests and that the Iranian people are

ready to welcome American liberators with flowers and candies. Unconfirmed “evidence” attributed to unnamed intelligence sources and exile groups is being circulated in the press together with reports about U.S. and Israeli plans to target the country’s nuclear sites. At the same time, U.S. officials insist that an attack on Iran is “not on the agenda at this point” and the European Union triumvirate (EU3) is being encouraged by Washington to negotiate an agreement with Tehran that would offer it incentives to ... to do exactly what? To give up its nuclear military program? That is the spin that Bush has produced, but in reality what Washington is demanding is

Department, World Bank, UN ambassadorship.

Consider another “eerie similarity” between the conventional wisdom on the prospects of confrontation with Iran and the run-up to the Iraq War. Then we were led to believe that there was a heated debate inside the administration, that President Bush hadn’t made a definite decision to use military force, that the United States and the Europeans would use diplomatic power to press Baghdad, and that the UN and its inspectors would resolve the crisis. We now realize that these optimistic assessments were a product of disinformation by a White House that was intent on

administration (I don’t have many of those) told me that the president returned from his trip to Europe steamed at the French and Germans for refusing to provide assistance in Iraq and has told his aides that notwithstanding the kiss-and-make-up photo ops, he is going to do it his way in the Middle East—including Iran. “Bush is not worried about the EU3 engaging the Iranians since he is counting on the Iranians to repeat the Saddam performance before the Iraq War, that they would reject compromises proposed by the Europeans and that the issue would then be brought before the Security Council where the U.S. would demand sanctions against Iran,” he said. And we know how that movie ended ...

Indeed, from the perspective of Bush and the neocons, the U.S. has been at war with Iran since 1979 and the time has come to settle the score in the same way that we did with Iraq, bringing an end to the war that started in 1991. They hope that a pro-American government in Iran would not only return that country to the U.S. orbit but would also have a moderating influence on the Shi’ite communities in Iraq and Lebanon and help strengthen the foundations of Pax Americana in the Middle East.

The problem that the warriors in Washington could be facing is that the Iranian leaders are not as stupid as Saddam. Former President Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, who will probably run for president in the coming election in June, is a cunning pistachio merchant who could outsmart the Americans and reach an accord with the Europeans, making it likely that I’ll continue to encounter Reza Pahlavi at Safeway. But don’t bet your Persian rug on that. ■

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*Leon Hadar is a Cato Institute research fellow in foreign-policy studies and author of the forthcoming book Sandstorm: Policy Failure in the Middle East.*

## **NEITHER THE CIA NOR THE INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY HAS COME UP WITH CLEAR EVIDENCE THAT IRAN HAS A SECRET PROJECT TO BUILD A NUCLEAR BOMB.**

that Iran give up its ability to make nuclear material by enriching uranium to produce electric power—an activity that the current nuclear-arms regime permits Iran to pursue. Moreover, neither the CIA nor the International Atomic Energy Agency has come up with clear evidence that Iran has a secret project to build a nuclear bomb.

Former arms inspector David Kay, who admitted that “we were almost all wrong” about Iraq’s WMD activities, has concluded that the Bush administration’s actions on Iran have “an eerie similarity to the events preceding the Iraq war.” And why not do a rerun? That strategy worked when it came to softening America for war and proved politically cost-effective for its architects, if you just consider the Bush re-election and the rewards provided those who warned of WMD, Saddam-Osama links, and bungled the post-war occupation: Presidential Medals of Freedom, State

ousting Saddam Hussein through military power. So when leading American foreign-policy and military analysts—with the exception of *The New Yorker’s* Seymour Hersh—conclude that an overstretched United States cannot afford another war in the Middle East, that foreign-policy establishment types are opposed to the idea, that Bush has decided to work together with the Europeans to deal with Iran, that the Bushies know that they would be totally isolated and couldn’t count even on British support if they decide to attack Iran, employ a healthy sense of skepticism.

If anything, the neocons are more entrenched in the power centers while the realists have been cleansed from the CIA and other government agencies. A bipartisan War Party is in control of Congress, and the media has been toeing its line. And forget also the notion of growing Euro-American co-operation. A friend of mine who works in the



# The Real McCarthy

Tailgunner Joe was right in spite of himself—and Roy Cohn.

By Ralph de Toledano

THE HEART OF LIBERALISM almost stopped beating when in April 1996 the *Washington Post* asked, “Was McCarthy Right About the Left?” The piece was written by Nicholas von Hoffman, one of the foremost wits warring on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy and on those who fought communist infiltration of the public and private sectors. His words, had they been written in the 1950s, would have meant instant excommunication by the liberal establishment and the *Washington Post*. A few quotes tell the tale.

“[W]here the dominant form of polite liberalism thrived,” wrote von Hoffman, “the accusers, who had named names and had pointed out the communist spies, were scorned as despicable vermin.” They “were dismissed as adventurers, opportunists, cats paws of reaction, psychos, creeps, blackmailers . . . . But in the last year, as though from a buried, toxic waste dump, poisons, moving with the slow capillary action of history long hidden, are hiccupping up a different truth.” He continued:

The materials that first made their way to the surface in the early 1990s . . . provided proof past peradventure that the Community Party of the United States was subsidized by the Soviet government and used as a base for extensive espionage . . . . The Age of McCarthyism, it turns out, was not the simple witch hunt of the innocent by the malevolent as two generations of high school and college students have been taught.

But was McCarthy right? “This loutish, duplicitous bully . . . may have exaggerated the scope of the problem but not by much. The government was the workplace of perhaps 100 communist agents in 1943-45.” He was right, but he didn’t know what he was talking about.

But what in the record are facts? And what is smear?

Joe McCarthy’s genes were Irish and German, the sentimental and the stubborn. He had worked his way through college and law school, been a judge in Wisconsin, and had a distinguished combat record as a Marine in the Pacific. Many in the very press that cut him to pieces liked him. Murray Kempton of the *New York Post*, a world-class political maverick who savaged the Right as much as he goosed the Left, could ask his colleagues, “With whom would you prefer spending an evening on the town, Joe McCarthy or Dick Nixon?”

Color me red, white, or blue. I liked Joe from the start, and he liked and trusted me—though I gave him much private hell. He would turn on that kid’s grin, and we’d be back to square one. I could never forgive him Roy Cohn, a combination of weasel and skunk and the most reprehensible individual I have ever known personally. That came later. But when the State Department, the media, and the liberal establishment piled on Joe, I stood pat. Had he delivered his Feb. 9, 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia years earlier, it would have been reported back among the truss ads. But the Cold War, the Hiss case, the theft of the atomic bomb, and the Korean

unpleasantness were stirring up the country—or at least that part that didn’t read the *New York Times*.

Joe McCarthy was one of a number of Republican senators sent out to arouse the citizenry with Lincoln’s Birthday rhetoric. He was armed with a speech, written by a *Chicago Tribune* correspondent, which he brandished more than read, getting some wire service pick-up. The Democrats and the State Department, worried by the Reds-in-government issue, decided that this would be a good time to polish it off. Joe McCarthy was small potatoes in the Senate, with no known expertise in the Communist issue. It would be easy.

Thus a barely noticed speech by what the striped-pants boys considered a minor-league senator became national news. Had McCarthy said, “I hold in my hand the names of 205 card-carrying Communists in the government”? At a later speech, now solidly reported, he inveighed against 57. That was the total case against Joe McCarthy at first, an alleged discrepancy that the Democrats and the State Department seized on. How could you believe him if he didn’t know the difference between 205 and 57?

The trouble was that no one could be found to verify the 205 figure, not even a Senate investigator sent to scour Wheeling and then fired because no one could testify to that number. Sen. Millard Tydings, point man in the war against McCarthy, claimed that he had a recording of the speech, but he wouldn’t play it for the press. Joe himself would later say privately to me, “Who the hell knows

what number I used? The point is that there are Commies in government, but the State Department admits only that it fired 91 homosexuals.”

The fierceness of the attack on Joe gave him a national audience, and he pounded away at the issue. With each speech, the material he did not have in Wheeling poured in. It came from members of the House Un-American Activities Committee like Dick Nixon and Karl Mundt, from senatorial files, from newsmen, from a Georgetown priest, from anti-Communist individuals and organizations. Even FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover surreptitiously slipped him documents. Getting an education in the public eye is hardly comfortable, but Joe McCarthy wasn't fazed. He and his charges were becoming the nation's biggest news.

As *Newsweek's* expert on subversion, I was assigned to write the stories on the booming McCarthy controversy. From frustrated experience, I knew that it would be a bare-knuckled and dirty battle. Those whom McCarthy was exposing were deeply entrenched in the public and private sectors, and those who had guilty knowledge would fight as bitterly. But it soon became clear that Joe was too tough to be intimidated, and he was enjoying it all.

A Senate enrobed in its dignity set up a bipartisan committee under Senator Tydings ostensibly to investigate McCarthy's charges. But it turned out to be a kangaroo court, determined to flatten McCarthy and the issue. Some of the cases were rock solid, others debatable. But all were uniformly dumped into a senatorial round file, and a report was drawn up that Republican members were not allowed to see before it was issued. The Tydings Committee report simply finessed the Communists-in-government issue, focusing its fire on McCarthy and anti-Communists in general.

In the uproar that followed, Joe was accused of having an “inglorious” war

record, of claiming to have a half-pound of shrapnel in his leg, of having acted improperly as a judge in Wisconsin, of being both a leering homosexual and an uncontrollable heterosexual maniac, of having cheated on his income tax, of being both an “Irish Catholic bigot” and in bed with the KKK—all false. That my stories for *Newsweek* reported the truth won me no Pulitzer.

So it was that one Sunday afternoon John A. Clements, Hearst vice president and participant in a secret Marine Corps intelligence operation, called to invite me for “a couple of drinks” at his apartment. Instead I was ushered into the bedroom where Bill Hearst Jr. sat cross-legged on the bed, with what was obviously not his first drink in hand, alongside the junior senator from Wisconsin. Both gave the buddy-buddy greeting, and the discussion moved to the McCarthy campaign and the bad joke that the Tydings hearings had been.

“The Hearst papers are planning a series on Joe and his cases,” Bill said. “A 12-part series is what I have in mind, and Jack Clements here says you're the right man to do it, and Joe agrees. He'll open up his files, and Jack has some pretty potent stuff in his files. We'll give you all the co-operation you need. Will you do it, Ralph?” I had a full-time job, and I knew that *Newsweek* would not be pleased. But with the help of my wife Nora, a top-notch researcher and custodian of my own files, I felt I could do it. “Sure,” I said, “if I can share the job and the byline with wife.” Though we didn't talk about money, it was a guaranteed assignment, and I knew they would see to it that I would be adequately paid.

Joe McCarthy was doing his research on the fly, so the large carton of papers he sent up to New York was mostly chaff, though here and there were documents stamped “top secret.” But Nora already had a file drawer of material, and Clements's files were invaluable. I

made several trips to talk to Joe in Washington and to touch base with the FBI and other Washington sources. In a couple of weeks, we had the first six parts of the series completed. They were sent to Bill Hearst—and silence. When I finally got through to him, he said, “Yeah, Joe McCarthy thinks they're great, but I've changed my mind. I don't think the Hearst papers should be that close to Joe.” No real explanation, and not even expense money.

“That's how Bill is destroying the Hearst papers,” Jack Clements said ruefully, and I chalked it up to experience. But I had gotten to know Joe, as well as Jean Kerr, his administrative assistant and wife-to-be—tall, attractive, generous-hearted, able, a straight arrow. On a vacation to Hawaii, Jean would fall from a collapsing hotel balcony and so damage her pelvis that she would never be able to have children—and the media whispered that it was really a mucked-up abortion. Willy-nilly, I had become Joe's friend and his defender on radio and TV programs.

There is so much to remember, important and unimportant:

Joe, still with his kid's grin, sometimes overstating the facts, beating away at the Commies, the press, and the Democrats, getting rougher and more stubborn in public, but a sentimental pushover in private, kicking his body harder than he kicked the opposition.

Joe at a TV studio, shortly before 8 p.m. when we were to go on: “Have you had dinner?” I asked. He reached into his pocket for a tin of bicarbonate, gulping some down. “Yes, this is it.”

Joe showing up for a gathering at Jack Clements's apartment on a Thursday at about midnight. Stasha, Jack's wife, who knew how he missed meals: “Joe, can I make you some ham and eggs?” Joe: “Just the eggs, it's Friday.”

Joe at his wedding at St. Matthew's Cathedral, looking like a truck driver in

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his cutaway and waving at the army of political leaders and socialites. Alice Longworth in her yard-wide hat on Vice President Nixon's arm, taking Sherman Adams's seat and forcing him to sit in the back row.

Joe and the *Time* cover story listing as anti-Communists Soviet agents he had named. Joe producing his research file from *Time*'s Washington bureau, documenting the exact opposite of the published story—and the anguished media cries that Joe's disclosure of the file and his call on *Time* advertisers to cancel violated the First Amendment.

Joe calling, when Jean Kerr was up from Washington and visiting us: "I've got an important speech to make in a few weeks. Will you write it for me?" I agree, if he'll send me the research. Two days before he's to deliver the speech just before Election Day, a call: "Where's my speech?" "Where's my material?" "Oh, hell, I forgot to send it." And Joe on nationwide TV, bombing with what he had dictated but never rehearsed, the "Alger—I mean Adlai" speech.

Early evening waiting in his office for Joe, then chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee, Roy Cohn, sprawled in Joe's chair, his feet on the desk, holding forth. Sitting in the corner a young man, hands folded on his lap and looking down as if in prayer: Bobby Kennedy. The wisecracks: Roy is a Jewish Bobby Kennedy, and Bobby is a Catholic Roy Cohn.

A Christmas Day gathering at columnist George Sokolsky's. Roy Cohn showing up with a garment-center floozy and David Schine (on pass from the Army allegedly to do McCarthy Committee work) with Piper Laurie, all four having been up all night and on the way to another party.

Joe on "Author Meets the Critics" to discuss his book on General Marshall with Leo Cherne, millionaire head of the Research Institute of America. The two

going at each other like Killkenny cats and moderator Faye Emerson hopelessly pleading, "Gentlemen, gentlemen," the defending critic (myself) unable to get a word in edgewise.

Richard Rovere, formerly an editor of the Communist *New Masses*, later *The New Yorker*'s Washington correspondent, at the National Press Club bar, holding forth on the hundreds of lives Joe McCarthy had destroyed. "Name one," I ask. Silence, then, "Well, he's shacking up with Roy Cohn, isn't he? And how many spies has he caught?"

Spies? Joe could have scored a major point by putting his campaign in context. It was not spies he was after but giving chapter and verse on the Soviet infiltration of government—the solid cases he had amassed as the country moved toward the 1952 election. He had erred badly in his onslaught against General Marshall, for that dealt mainly with the failure of FDR and the military to anticipate the threat to Pearl Harbor.

With the election of General Eisenhower, for which Joe could take some credit, and the Republican control of the Senate, Joe became rash. As chairman of the Senate Government Operations Committee and its powerful Permanent Investigation subcommittee, he was in the catbird seat. He had the authority and the subpoena power to get at the evidence that had been previously withheld. But against the advice of his strongest and most savvy allies, he passed up as counsel Robert Morris—highly knowledgeable, formerly of the Office of Naval Intelligence, thorough, and respected. McCarthy instead chose Roy Cohn—brash, unprincipled, and inexperienced.

With Roy at his side, Joe moved from disaster to disaster. "Twenty years of treason" had been his battle cry when the Democrats were in office, but now he confronted President Eisenhower, Vice President Richard Nixon, and his own Senate colleagues, at Roy's incite-

ment, with "21 years of treason." Roy brought in David Schine, and they galumphed in Europe, presumably investigating United States Information Agency libraries but making fools not only of themselves but of McCarthy and the committee by their wild statements, noisy quarrels, and flamboyant behavior in public. Joe should have fired them, but Roy pointed to the handful of pro-Communist books they had found in USIA libraries—and Joe hurt himself by defending the two.

The careful and systematic investigations and hearings that Bob Morris would have conducted were instead shambles with little preparation or cohesion and inept examination of witnesses. *New York Post* editor Jimmy Wechsler, in his college days a leader of the Young Communist League, was called. Most of what he knew of Communist activity he had learned after he left the YCL, and he had, though selectively, fought the party. But he had attacked McCarthy, and he was on Roy's drop-dead list. He was called and did much damage to McCarthy.

Repeatedly I intervened with Joe to withdraw subpoenas issued to ex-Communist intellectuals who could do no more than discourse on Marxism-Leninism but whose careers would be destroyed if they took the witness stand. Joe would argue, "But Roy says ..." When I explained to him that Roy didn't know what he was talking about, Joe would usually listen, and the subpoenas would be quashed.

Then Roy made a sensational discovery, the case of an Army dentist, a party member, who had been promoted from captain to major. "Who promoted Peress?" became the great issue, and in stormy executive hearings Joe impugned the patriotism of a general who resisted the McCarthy Committee's investigation of the Army to solve the great question. In addition, Dave Schine had been drafted,



and Roy shook the pillars of Fort Dix to get him relieved from duty to attend to “unfinished committee business.” English translation: to make the rounds of New York nightclubs with Roy.

The McCarthy Committee’s Army hearings were terrible. Joe had lost the support of Senate Republicans, smarting under his “21 years of treason” accusations, and the Democrats were on the warpath. I covered the Army-McCarthy hearings in anger and despair. Joe’s manner and his frequent “point of order” interruptions made him seem ridiculous—worse in politics than looking demonic. He could have weathered this. But he was brought down by his lies, some of which I knew firsthand to be so, to cover up for Roy, who in his own testimony was a veritable Pinocchio.

The Senate was poised to vote condemnation of Joseph R. McCarthy, but the few Republican senators still at his side softened that to censure. It took some doing, but Joe agreed to deliver a mollifying speech. We worked out an outline for him, but instead he launched a bitter and accusatory attack on the Senate, in effect ending his career.

When the Democrats took back the Senate, Joe McCarthy was a sick and despairing man seeking relief in the bottom of the bottle. Friends like myself, who had jeopardized their careers in supporting him, turned away.

After he died, his wife Jean asked me to write the definitive book about Joe. “You’re the only one I would trust to tell it straight, and Joe would have trusted you too,” she said. I did not have the heart to refuse. “Yes, but who would publish it?” I said. That was more a farewell than an answer. ■

*Ralph de Toledano is the author or editor of over 20 books, including Notes From the Underground: the Whittaker Chambers-Ralph de Toledano Letters, 1949-1960.*

**Concerns over the still evolving Iraqi government are mounting due to indications that religious intolerance is growing unchallenged in the predominantly Shi’ite parts of the country.**

Debate over whether Islam will be the principal source or the only source of the country’s law code and constitution is obscuring the on-the-street dominance of Islamic fundamentalists. The flight of many members of the small Chaldean Christian community to neighboring Syria and to Europe is accelerating. Christian-owned shops, particularly those selling or serving alcohol, have been vandalized or burned and their owners beaten and even killed. Many formerly secular Muslim women are choosing to adopt the veil after being harassed by self-styled guardians of Islam when they go out into the streets, creating an environment for women that is far worse than it was under Saddam Hussein. In many areas, Shia militiamen have taken on the task of policing public morality, similar to the role played by the Revolutionary Guards in neighboring Iran. In an incident in late March, a group of 20 university students consisting of both men and women was attacked after starting a picnic in a Basra city park. The attackers beat the students and shot one to death when he tried to come to the assistance of a woman who was being stripped. The woman later committed suicide. According to witnesses, the Mahdi Army militiamen of radical Shi’ite Muqtada al-Sadr objected to the picnickers playing music and to unveiled women mixing with men who were not family members. Policemen stationed in the park did not intervene and a passing British army patrol also was unwilling to get involved. Iraq is now a sovereign country with its own government, and the British no longer have any authority to interfere in police matters.



**Reports by FBI observers confirm that information obtained from suspected terrorist detainees at Guantanamo Bay naval base prison has been poor and is particularly bad when it is provided under stress or using coercive techniques.**

The observations were recorded in a series of dissenting memos that were submitted in 2003-04 to the Justice Department, which was setting the guidelines for interrogation methods. Some parts of the memos were leaked late last year, but the full texts were finally made available to Congress in March. The reports support similar judgments made by CIA and DIA interrogators, many of whom are convinced that the information being obtained from more than 1,000 prisoners at various interrogation centers worldwide is often dubious, marginal at best, and degrades in value dramatically as time goes by. One interrogator operating at Guantanamo reports that virtually no usable information is coming out of the grueling round-the-clock sessions. The Departments of Defense and Justice have no desire to continue to hold many of the detainees, but the prospect of turning them loose is even more unpalatable. The alternative of rendition, whereby the suspects are returned to their countries of origin for continued incarceration and possible interrogation employing more extreme methods, is also on hold due to negative press coverage.

*Philip Giraldi, a former CIA Officer, is a partner in Cannistraro Associates, an international security consultancy.*

# What “New Economy”?

A COUNTRY CANNOT be a superpower without a high-tech economy, and America's high-tech economy is eroding.

Corporate outsourcers and their apologists presented the loss of manufacturing capability as a positive development. Manufacturing, they said, was the “old economy,” whose loss ensured Americans lower consumer prices and greater shareholder returns. The American future was in the “new economy” of high-tech knowledge jobs. Few considered how a country could maintain a technological lead when it did not manufacture.

So far in the 21st century, there is scant sign of the American “new economy.” The promised knowledge-based jobs have not appeared. To the contrary, the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports a net loss of 221,000 jobs in six major engineering job classifications. A country that doesn't manufacture doesn't need as many engineers, and much of the work that remains is being outsourced or filled with cheaper foreigners.

Confronted with inconvenient facts, outsourcing's apologists moved to the next level of fantasy. Many technical and engineering jobs, they said, have become “commodity jobs,” routine work that can be performed cheaper offshore. America will stay in the lead, they promised, because it will keep the research and development work. Now *Business Week* reports that the pledge of first-world corporations to keep research and development in-house is “passé.” Motorola and Philips now put their brand names on complete products that are designed, engineered, and manufactured in Asia by “original-design manufacturers” (ODM).

The design and engineering teams of Asian ODMs are expanding rapidly, while those of major U.S. corporations are shrinking. *Business Week* further reports that R&D budgets at such technology

companies as Hewlett-Packard, Cisco, Motorola, Lucent Technologies, Ericsson, and Nokia are being scaled back.

Outsourcing is rapidly converting U.S. corporations into brand names with a sales force selling foreign designed, engineered, and manufactured goods. Whether or not they realize it, U.S. corporations have written off the U.S. consumer market. People who do not participate in the innovation, design, engineering, and manufacture of the products that they consume lack the incomes to support the sales infrastructure of the job-diverse “old economy.”

Free-market economists and U.S. politicians are blind to the rapid transformation of America into a Third-World economy, but college-bound American students and engineering schools are acutely aware of declining career opportunities and enrollments. The advantages of a college degree are erased when the only source of employment is domestic nontradable services.

According to the *Los Angeles Times*, the percentage of college graduates among the long-term chronically unemployed has risen sharply. The U.S. Department of Labor reported in March that 373,000 discouraged college graduates dropped out of the labor force in February—a far higher number than the number of new jobs created.

As more employment is shifted offshore, goods and services formerly produced domestically become imports. No-think economists and Bush administration officials claim that America's increasing dependence on imported goods and services is evidence of the strength of the U.S. economy and its role as engine of global growth. This claim ignores that the U.S. is paying for its outsourced goods and services by transferring its wealth and future income streams to foreigners.

Foreigners have acquired \$3.6 trillion of U.S. assets since 1990 as a result of U.S. trade deficits. For the past three years, their increasing unwillingness to acquire more dollars has resulted in a decline in the dollar's value in relation to gold and tradable currencies. Recently, the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans have expressed their concerns. According to a Bloomberg report, Japan's unrealized losses on its dollar reserve holdings have reached \$109.6 billion.

The *Asia Times* reports that Asian central banks have been reducing their dollar holdings in favor of regional currencies for the past three years. A study by the Bank of International Settlements concluded that the ratio of dollar reserves held in Asia declined from 81 percent in the third quarter of 2001 to 67 percent in September 2004. China reduced its dollar holdings from 83 percent to 68 percent. The dollar will not maintain its role as world reserve currency when it is being abandoned by the region that is rapidly becoming the manufacturing and innovation powerhouse.

Misled by propagandistic “free trade” claims, Americans will be at a loss to understand the increasing career frustrations of the college educated. Falling pay and rising prices of foreign-made goods will squeeze U.S. living standards as the declining dollar heralds America's descent into a has-been economy.

Meanwhile, the Grand Old Party has passed a bankruptcy reform that is certain to turn unemployed Americans living on debt into the indentured servants of credit-card companies. The steely-faced Bush administration is making certain that Americans will experience to the full their country's fall. ■

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*Paul Craig Roberts served as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury. Copyright Creators Syndicate*

# Arts & Letters

## FILM

[*Melinda and Melinda* &  
*Look at Me*]

### Woody Allen & “Woody Allen”

By Steve Sailer

ALTHOUGH THE NEW YORK critics once hailed him as a genius, Woody Allen was never a Stanley Kubrick-style prophet of the cinema occasionally coming down from the mountaintop with a wholly original new film. Instead, we can see now that he's a talented, hardworking craftsman who churned out a prodigious number of pretty good movies before finally colliding with the law of diminishing returns in this decade.

Allen is an upscale, limited-edition version of his mass-market idol, the late Bob Hope, from whom he borrowed his film persona as the cowardly but self-absorbed schlemiel who somehow always gets the girl. Indeed, watching one of Hope's ancient “Road” comedies these days generates the odd feeling that Bob Hope is impersonating Woody Allen. Similarly, the postmodern touches in Allen's films trace back to Hope's wildly self-referential late '40s comedies.

Like Hope, Allen is an alpha male off-screen (he was captain of his high-school basketball team). Blessed with Hope's indefatigability and efficiency, Allen makes a movie every year for what the Wachowski siblings probably spent on the “Matrix” sequels' catering. Allen can land big stars on hiatus

between their high-paying projects because they know he always finishes on schedule.

The most popular type of humor might be the startling shift of the frame of reference, as in Allen's joke, “I don't want to achieve immortality through my work... I want to achieve it through not dying.” After 35 movies, however, the 69-year-old Allen is hard-pressed to surprise us any longer, so his increasingly indistinguishable scripts have become ever more dependent on the less certain charms of self-parody.

In Allen's new comedy-drama, “Melinda and Melinda,” the few laughs stem from the wonderfully silly casting of that enormous slab of gentile cluelessness, Will Ferrell (from “Elf” and all those George W. Bush parodies on “Saturday Night Live”) in the stock role of The Woody Allen Character.

Unfortunately, Ferrell appears only in the comic half of the movie (and Woody not at all) because Allen insists on retelling the same story—a suicidal beauty with Madame Bovary's backstory intrudes upon a glittering dinner party—as a dull drama.

If you are in the mood for a good Woody Allen comedy, however, Agnès Jaoui's “Look at Me,” which won a deserved Best Screenplay award at Cannes, delivers the Allenesque pleasures of brittle wit among the cultural elite, while also remaining more in touch with economic reality than the typical communiqué from Planet Woody, where all struggling *artistes* have dazzling 3,000-square-foot Manhattan apartments and plenty of time on their hands to discuss their impending adulteries.

During the Depression, audiences flocked to “white telephone” films about millionaires so financially secure that their interior decorators chose their

phones. Perhaps Allen's core audience is people waiting tables while they hawk their screenplays for whom Woody's movies offer fantasies of effortless entitlement.

The subtitled “Look at Me” explores the financial and moral stresses of trying to make a living in the ruthlessly competitive arts. The plump and not terribly talented, but amusingly acerbic, 20-year-old daughter of France's most influential man of letters suspects that every man who asks her out just wants to meet her father. Yet considering how broke all the young writers she knows are, it's hard to blame them.

Worse, her father is a prize stinker who ignores her. To show off his literary taste, he saddled his daughter with an, as they say, inappropriate name: Lolita. But Lolita is not the light of his life. He has an exquisite new wife, hardly older and much thinner, and a new daughter, too. When it comes to children, his attitude seems to be, “The older they get, the cuter they ain't.”

Too overweight to be an actress, Lolita focuses her wavering artistic ambitions on her chorus' upcoming classical concert. I feared that “Look at Me” would turn into just another “Rocky” remake, with Lolita finally hitting that tricky high C note and earning a standing ovation and a contract at La Scala, but the film has a more European message: performing great music is its own reward.

And Lolita's love story is far more appealing than either of the Melindas' because human beings can't help being more intrigued by the young woman's eternal question—Who will be the father of my children?—than by the adulteress's whim—With whom will I amuse myself next? ■

Both films are rated PG-13.

## BOOKS

*[Born Fighting: How the Scots-Irish Shaped America, James Webb, Broadway Books, 369 pages]*

## Never Surrender

By W. Wesley McDonald

THIS EXTENSIVELY researched and long overdue examination of the journey of the Scots-Irish in America might shame a few elitist academic institutions into establishing departments of Scots-Irish studies.

Fleeing war and poverty, 250,000 to 400,000 Scots-Irish began in the early 1700s to migrate out of Scotland and Northern Ireland for the American colonies. These intrepid immigrants would come, "particularly in the South and the Ohio Valley, where their culture overwhelmed the English and German ethnic groups and defined the mores of the region," to shape what it was to be an American. The tragic "irony," observes James Webb, "is that modern America has forgotten who they were (and are) so completely that it is rare to find anyone who can even recognize their ethnic makeup or identify their amazing journey and their singular contributions." Moreover, as the late Rodney Dangerfield would say, they "don't get no respect." These NASCAR, country music, old-time-religion loving working-class people are mostly caricatured as cultural primitives.

Webb, a highly decorated Vietnam War veteran, a former assistant secretary of defense and secretary of the Navy, and more recently a novelist, tries to correct this "gaping vacuum" in our understanding of American origins. On the way, he strives to restore to the 27 million Americans who can claim descent from the Scots-Irish a sense of pride in who they

are and from whence they came. His social history is partly a tribute to a "forgotten people," a family memoir, and a political polemic. He traces the Scots-Irish back to their origins as ancient Celtic warriors and hails "his people" (and, I might add, mine too) for having instilled in their young such noble virtues as courage, honor, patriotism, and loyalty to friends and family. He chronicles his family's struggles, particularly that of his late father, to make something of themselves. Finally, he vents his anger toward those who slurred and ridiculed him and his ancestors.

The first-century A.D. construction of Hadrian's Wall by the Romans separated the English and Scots both geographically and culturally. England was Romanized, while the Celtic peoples to the north were never conquered. England subsequently became Anglo-Saxon and Norman, while Scotland retained her Celtic culture. Under Norman rule, the English erected a military caste system while the Celts, for their part, developed a tribal system based on kinship ties rather than political hierarchy. The highly individualistic society of the Celts was characterized by loyalty to one's kin and tribal chieftain. The less egalitarian society of England "encouraged," as Webb observes, "the more nationalist form of racism." Celtic kinship patterns of association "tended to embrace members of other ethnic groups rather than demean them." In other words, the culture emphasized assimilative, collateral kinship connections rather than race and ethnicity. As long as individuals accepted "the values and mores of the extended family" they were accepted as "of the kin."

"An offshoot," of these kinship relations, Webb explains, are the "unusually strong feelings about military service held by so many Americans of Scottish and Irish descent." Since the American Revolution, they have served in disproportionately large numbers in every war. "When it comes to fighting wars, [the Appalachian] mountain people have always been among the first to go." A

high proportion of the soldiers in the combat units of today's volunteer military are Scots-Irish and Irish Catholic. Of all their cultural attributes, Webb clearly admires their love of battle the most.

Generations of warfare, from their medieval struggles against English rule, which produced such indomitable Scottish heroes as William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, to their successful 17th-century defense of the city of Londonderry, forged a warrior culture. The cry "no surrender," shouted by the Ulster Protestants to the besieging Catholic armies of the deposed King James II, typified the fierce determination of the Scots-Irish never to submit to a foe without a fight.

Unfortunately, the condition of the Ulster Scots under English rule worsened after their victory. The English government betrayed its loyal subjects in Northern Ireland by enacting laws that "forbade dissenting Protestants from teaching school, holding even minor positions in the government, or serving as officers in the militia." The ensuing political chaos and bitterness resulting from Queen Anne's Test Acts spawned a continual migratory flow out of Northern Ireland to the American colonies that did not cease until 1776. During the course of those migrations nearly "one-third of the entire Protestant population of Ireland left for America." The "remembered tragedies of Northern Ireland" would shape these new arrivals and help "spur them into a new and sometimes fearsome wilderness."

"Another powerful facet" that "played into the cultural development" of the Scots Irish was the Protestant Reformation. Populism and Calvinism combined "to create both the fundamentals of American-style democracy and the embryo of what would in the twentieth century be called America's Bible Belt." Their streak of confessional independence "provided the roots of a powerful and unrelenting populism." The Presbyterian nonconformists instilled in them the view that the individual had the right to rebel against a policy that was



“viewed to be immoral.” This principle would turn up in an altered form in the Southern Scotch-Irish statesman John C. Calhoun, who asserted the right of sovereign states to nullify unconstitutional federal laws.

The visceral dislike of the WASP elite for the mostly working-class Scots-Irish continues to fuel the present culture wars. The social and political upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s, for instance, were about more than a growing discontent over a prolonged war. They were manifestations of cultural conflict. Although Webb says that he was fully prepared for the bloody fighting he faced in Vietnam and even the suffering he endured during the two years of surgeries and physical therapy following his combat injuries, he admits that “few things ... surprised” him “so completely as the world I entered a few years later when I arrived at the Georgetown Law Center” in 1972. His injuries had ended forever his dream of pursuing a career as a Marine Corps officer. “Had I not been wounded, I would never have gone to law school. And had I not gone to law school, I would never have comprehended the disdain that many of the advantaged in my generation felt for those who had fought in Vietnam, or the ingrained condescension of the nation’s elites toward my culture. And had I never been exposed to this unthinking arrogance, I would never have begun the journey of discovery that, over three decades, led to this book.”

Webb’s physical wounds healed, but he clearly bears the scars from the emotional injuries he suffered. “To have one’s life interrupted for years at an early age, and then to return not only without honor but also shouldering the blame for all the supposed evils of a war that others avoided, is the formula for long-term societal disability. And this is exactly what occurred.”

The gap between the world he had left and the world he had walked back into “was nearly total.” Almost everyone he knew in the Marine Corps “had pulled at least one tour of duty in Vietnam” while he met only a few combat veter-

ans among Georgetown Law students. Most of the volunteers who served and died in Vietnam came “from traditionalist cultures such as the Scots-Irish.” On the other hand, Webb bitterly notes, “the generation’s academic elites largely sat out the war.”

Despite the popular impression of a ‘60s “generation gap,” in reality “this rupture was along cultural and class lines, with racial issues sometimes blurring class distinctions.” The political radicals, who largely came from America’s political elite, fervently believed that “the American system was irretrievably broken,” while, on the other hand, “the traditionalists who were fighting the war” were “worrying that the American system as they knew it was being destroyed by the forces of dissent.”

The traditions of a rebellious political populism, a strict religious Calvinism, and the military instilled in the Scots-Irish a “values-based combativeness, an insistent egalitarianism, and a refusal to be dominated from above, no matter what the cost.” They are “unenvious of wealth, unafraid of the wielders of

elections or voted against the Republican presidential nominees. In 2000 and 2004, they returned to the Republican fold. “They have become spoilers because in their view American political elites, both Republican and Democrat, have grown together into an almost indiscernible ‘hybrid royalty’ that offers them little to choose from in terms of how the nation is actually being governed. Grand, useless speeches are made on issues such as flag-burning, homosexual marriage, and abortion, but little is said or done about such vital matters as the near-nationwide breakdown of public education, the mind-boggling rate of incarceration in America’s prison systems, or the blatant government-sponsored reverse discrimination inherent in what are now called diversity programs.” In other words, they think like many subscribers to *The American Conservative*.

Of all the issues, nothing provokes them more than the injustice of the diversity and affirmative-action programs. Webb claims these programs spring from “a false reading of history

#### THE TRADITIONS OF A **REBELLIOUS POLITICAL POPULISM**, A STRICT RELIGIOUS CALVINISM, AND THE MILITARY INSTILLED IN THE SCOTS-IRISH A “VALUES-BASED **COMBATIVENESS**.”

authority, unconscious of class, and also unwilling to consider themselves ethnically aloof—in most cases.” Individuality is more important to them than racial origin. Hence, unlike other self-identified hyphenated ethnic Americans, the modern game of identity politics is one they do not play.

They have, Webb insists, more power than they understand. Since neither major political party reflects completely their core concerns, they tend to be independent swing voters. In 1980 and 1984, they enthusiastically voted for Reagan (“perhaps the most Jacksonian president since Jackson himself”) but only reluctantly voted for Bush I in 1988. They either sat out the 1992 and 1996

elections or voted against the Republican presidential nominees. In 2000 and 2004, they returned to the Republican fold. “They have become spoilers because in their view American political elites, both Republican and Democrat, have grown together into an almost indiscernible ‘hybrid royalty’ that offers them little to choose from in terms of how the nation is actually being governed. Grand, useless speeches are made on issues such as flag-burning, homosexual marriage, and abortion, but little is said or done about such vital matters as the near-nationwide breakdown of public education, the mind-boggling rate of incarceration in America’s prison systems, or the blatant government-sponsored reverse discrimination inherent in what are now called diversity programs.” In other words, they think like many subscribers to *The American Conservative*.

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these offending programs. Even if they did, they might not enjoy much success. The purpose of multicultural and diversity programs is not to nurture equity and fairness but to deconstruct the social and moral foundations of the organic, traditional society to which the Scots-Irish are attached. The Scots-Irish are on the wrong side of every issue—abortion, gay rights, secularization, affirmative action, expanding entitlement programs—that matters to cultural elites. From the perspective of the ruling culture, they are impediments to progress. They constitute what the late Sam Francis called the Middle American Radicals, who instinctively resist the encroachments of big government. Nevertheless, until they become more ethnically self-conscious, as Francis also urged, their interests will continue to be ignored.

While Webb fervently praises the fighting spirit of the Scots-Irish, he seems oblivious to the obvious fact that they have frequently been pawns in other people's wars. Since the Battle of Culloden, the British have used the Scots as cannon fodder in their colonial adventures. Many of America's greatest fighting men—Andrew Jackson, Daniel Boone, Davy Crockett, Stonewall Jackson, Ulysses S. Grant, George S. Patton—and a high proportion of the

soldiers in every war since the American Revolution have sprung from the Scots-Irish. Yet their otherwise commendable patriotism and fighting spirit have permitted the elite classes, who denigrate and even fear them, to manipulate these natural warriors into bearing the bloody brunt of their wars. Even Webb's father, a Marine Corps officer, cautioned his young son in 1968 not to risk his life in a "strategically botched war." Filled with dreams of becoming a Marine Corps general, however, Webb enthusiastically sought a combat assignment in that tragic, ill-considered war. He paid a heavy price for his rash—albeit courageous—decision, physically and emotionally, from which he has never fully recovered. As the Scots-Irish rush to support President Bush's wars for democracy and human rights, they might well reflect on the time-honored axiom that discretion is the better part of valor.

This finely written study should inspire a renewed appreciation of the enduring contributions to American politics and culture of this formerly all but invisible tribe. ■

*W. Wesley McDonald teaches political theory at Elizabethtown College and is the author of Russell Kirk and the Age of Ideology.*

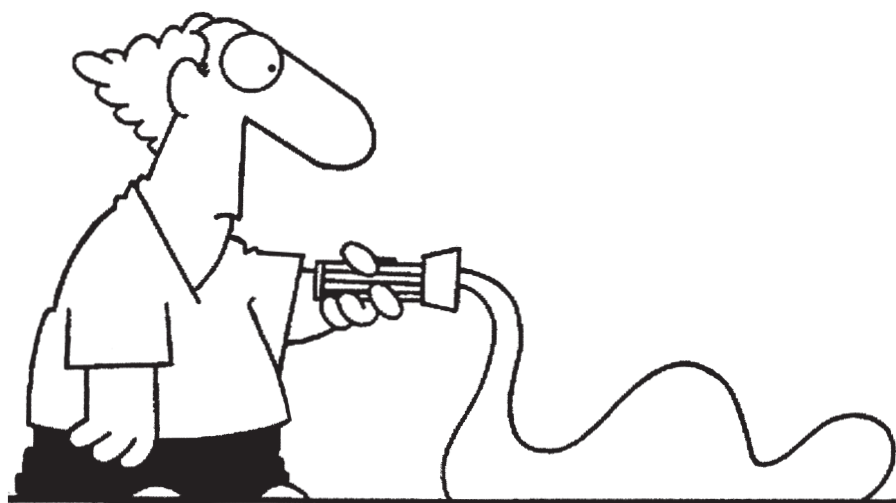
[*No Place to Hide*, Robert O'Harrow Jr., Free Press, 348 pages]

## Big Brother & Big Business

By Gerald J. Russello

THE UNION OF DATA MINING and surveillance technology with global capitalism under the auspices of the national-security state is one of those historical moments perfectly suited to the more unpleasant characteristics of American life. It combines the Progressive-era belief in the saving power of technology with the nation's residual Puritan moralism. Trust in the mercies of the free market has been joined to a quaint faith that the country's elites—whether denominated as liberal or conservative—are the right people to protect our liberties. The corporate and governmental advocates for this Brave New World envision a nation where nothing potentially suspicious goes unnoticed. Unfortunately, the precedents for this kind of society are not encouraging: East Germany and North Korea come to mind.

With a few significant exceptions, conservatives have been indifferent to these developments, despite their traditional suspicion of state power and dislike of economic and political centralization. In the face of terrorist threats, most conservative opinion outlets have staunchly supported measures like the Patriot Act, which have, among other things, enlarged the power of government to collect personal data. Conservatism has come a long way from its roots: the libertarian writer Albert Jay Nock, for example, who was so protective of his privacy that his friends did not know where he lived; or *Saturday Evening Post* editorial writer Gareth Garrett, who fought almost every expansion of government power; or even the ex-Communist and *National Review* editor Frank Meyer, who homeschooled his children from a wilderness



The lava lamp has been popular for 30 years, but the lava flashlight never caught on.

fastness in upstate New York. They represented a strong tradition of American life that simply wished to be left alone. Even those antediluvian conservatives who warned us darkly about Social Security numbers now seem more prescient than eccentric. As Robert O'Harrow, a *Washington Post* reporter, describes in his new and disturbing book, the ubiquitous use of Social Security numbers has created for each citizen a *de facto* national identification number. It has become the easiest hook with which to open a person's life to collection and analysis.

*No Place to Hide* is composed of a series of case studies on subjects ranging from the growth of data-gathering companies like Arkansas-based Acxiom to the story of Hank Asher, founder of the massive Matrix system that organizes millions of seemingly random bits of data on individuals to discover patterns through high-speed computer processing. Despite his concerns over these new technologies, O'Harrow does not ignore their positive dimensions. There is no question, for example, that Matrix has helped law-enforcement authorities see patterns previously invisible, and businesses use similar programs to make themselves more responsive to consumers. Nonetheless, these measures "threaten some of the traditions—of individual privacy, autonomy, and civil liberties—that help define our national character."

Two themes run through O'Harrow's account. First, there are the multiple and wide-ranging connections between government and business, in which the privacy concerns of individuals have little voice. The book opens, for example, with a description of an October 2003 trade show in which companies hawked their face-recognition technology, advanced surveillance and data collection methods, and other toys to law enforcement authorities desperate to find terrorists in our midst. Government consumes as much information as is available, and business has jumped into the breach to supply it. This dynamic poses real problems in controlling the

use—and abuse—of personal data: the government is the customer, and so has no incentive to stop the flow; indeed, the Patriot Act has expanded the ability of government agencies to collect information from any business in the name of national security. And businesses, by and large, have no incentive to listen to the citizens who may be inadvertently harmed along the way. When voters were turned away from the Florida polls in 2000 based on erroneous information collected by DBT, a subsidiary of data-collection giant ChoicePoint, internal e-mails show the company dismissed complaints because the Florida Department of Law Enforcement did the same. And the disqualification of some 8,000 voters as felons is not ChoicePoint's only mistake: the firm recently sold the personal data of 145,000 unsuspecting Americans to criminals posing as legitimate customers, and the company is now facing at least two federal investigations.

Current law imposes upon businesses almost none of the safeguards that apply to how government may use personal information. The Privacy Act of 1974, considered a landmark in privacy law,

spying on the government's behalf. Yet the antigovernment liberalism that motivated the reform movements of the 1960s and 1970s and led to restrictions on domestic surveillance is long out of favor, and small-government conservatives have lost almost all of their influence in Washington. Significant reform, therefore, may lie well into the future—when it may be too late.

The second theme of *No Place to Hide* is the persistence of human error and the moral weakness of individuals, facts of man's nature that conservatives used to be aware of and which formed a core element of their suspicion of centralized power. While the technologies themselves may be brilliant and multifaceted, the functionaries responsible for inputting data and monitoring the software are usually just average folks told to follow rules they cannot change and may not fully understand. Police departments and other law-enforcement agencies are not immune from these flaws; they now have access to overwhelming amounts of information, and so the inevitable cracks in the system do more damage than ever before to Americans' sense of security: how can any-

**THE ANTIGOVERNMENT LIBERALISM THAT MOTIVATED THE REFORM MOVEMENTS OF THE 1960S AND 1970S IS LONG OUT OF FAVOR, AND SMALL-GOVERNMENT CONSERVATIVES HAVE LOST ALMOST ALL OF THEIR INFLUENCE.**

prevents federal agencies from collecting and using certain data. But it does not prevent the government from buying the same data from others, collected and packaged in whatever way the agency desires. What formal rules there are have become almost meaningless in light of advanced technology. This is compounded by the pressure tactics government officials have used to gain information: O'Harrow sets out the story of Earthlink, an Internet service provider that sued the FBI to prevent installation of a data-gathering program called Carnivore on the company's servers. Earthlink lost and ended up

thing so thorough fail? But, as is usual with large bureaucracies, it is easier to keep track of the millions of people who do nothing wrong than it is the few who are trying to avoid detection or abuse the system. In one chapter, O'Harrow recounts the story of Matthew Berry, who took years to reclaim his identity from the people—still unknown—who stole it. Even after tortuous efforts to restore his name and personal history, the companies that had so carelessly let someone else assume Berry's persona considered him at fault. Databases do not allow for a presumption of innocence.

Nothing O'Harrow describes should come as too much of a surprise, though the details remain shocking. The national-security state has been around since the 1960s, and the union of government interest with the profit motive is at least as old as Eisenhower's military-industrial complex. What *No Place to Hide* demonstrates is that the old doctrine of *quis custodiet ipsos custodes*, that bedrock of American skepticism of the state, has broken down almost to the point of no repair. There simply is no way for the American electorate to grasp what these developments may mean for their liberties. As O'Harrow notes, "Our leaders have often invoked national security concerns to cloak their activities in secret," and even members of Congress are forced to initiate lawsuits or make Freedom of Information Act requests to get information to which they are legally entitled. In light of 9/11 and the Iraq War, there is little political will to ask probing questions about how all this packaged information is to be protected and used. And it is not only the executive branch that can be criticized. While the current administration is making wide use of these technologies,

Congress has been quick to pass the appropriate enabling legislation, and with rare exceptions the judiciary stands ready to defer to security exigencies. Nor should we underestimate the passivity of the American people, who, despite spasmodic populist reflexes, appear content to be watched and tracked so long as consumer goods flow and the War on Terror continues.

The surveillance by business and government that O'Harrow profiles will remain with us; it is useless for conservatives to try to return the genie to the bottle. The central issue is not how to eliminate these technologies but rather how to reinforce traditional ways of American life that can render surveillance and data mining less attractive. For example, conservatives once preferred neighbors and friends to the local government and the local government to the state and national governments. If our freedom was curtailed by prying eyes from behind window curtains, at least we knew who was watching us. What modern conservatives seem to prefer is the freedom of anonymity: the mall cameras may track our every move, but they are just there to safeguard the rights of property or to protect against terrorism.

This is where O'Harrow gets his analysis partially wrong. The traditions of America are just as strongly based on small-community norms as they are on vague claims of personal autonomy, which render individuals defenseless against the massive market and political forces using these new technologies. That is why a society that relies upon the techniques O'Harrow outlines here is ultimately less safe than a "thick" culture that relies primarily on its own traditions. While both kinds of societies have trade-offs, the choices between them need to be presented squarely to the public. As the backlash against national identity cards and the Total Information Awareness program indicate, Americans, when asked, still prefer to be left alone. ■

*Gerald J. Russello is the editor of Christianity and European Culture: Selections From the Work of Christopher Dawson.*

[*Democracy and Populism: Fear and Hatred*, John Lukacs, Yale University Press, 248 pages]

## Not Flirting With Fascism

By Paul Gottfried

THE WORKS OF JOHN LUKACS can fill entire library shelves. After having noted his first 25 books plus his steadily multiplying articles in *Harper's*, *The Atlantic*, *The New Yorker*, and *The New York Times Sunday Magazine*, I lost count of how much he had produced. Even so, I have continued to read him with interest. His newest book shows what Lukacs does best, which is pressing his rich historical thinking into observations and asides. What Lukacs always stresses is that most historical clichés are faulty. Among the idols of the marketplace that he challenges here and elsewhere are the following: the Cold War was largely the result of the Communist Revolution and unpredictable Soviet conquests during and after the Second World War; fascism is a movement of the traditional Right pushed to the extreme; and the Soviet Union embodied a more radical movement than that of Mussolini or Hitler. Other beliefs taken up in this volume (and effectively challenged) are that nationalism and patriotism are politically and socially kindred forces and (more provocatively) that Judaeophobia and anti-Semitism are not the same.

Lukacs's war against historical platitudes is a commendable response to the kibosh that academic historians have placed on certain research questions. On the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the outbreak of the First World War, to name just three examples, historical interpretations are becoming less rather than more open than they were 50 years ago. This narrowing range of alternate explanations has less to do with the available documentation than with the need to sound politically correct (a term

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that Lukacs unjustifiably rejects as “stupid”).

Although his gripes are not always mine, Lukacs does contest opinions that nobody but a tenured or retired professor would touch. He distinguishes quite properly between the social dislike for Jews that was common among 19th-century aristocrats, which he calls “Judaophobia,” and the rabid anti-Jewish prejudice that fueled radical nationalist movements after World War I. The second was not only deadlier than the first but also qualitatively different. Moreover, the second presupposed mass political movements that were held together by hate, which Lukacs insists is basic to nationalism. Both populism, as a technique of direct democracy, and nationalist passions are placed against Lukacs’s preferred sentiments and institutions, starting with patriotism as devotion to one’s ancestral land and constitutional safeguards against mass democratic intemperance.

To his credit, Lukacs also challenges the linkage made between the French counterrevolutionary Joseph de Maistre and the antecedents of European fascism. In contrast to the English social democrat Isaiah Berlin, Lukacs denies any simplistic connection between Maistre, an early 19th-century critic of popular sovereignty, and either Italian fascism or German Nazism. Nothing in this figure faintly foreshadows Nazi anti-Semitism or suggests bouts of Judaophobia. His rejection of “human rights” characterized all critics of the French Revolution and the Jacobins. And, as Lukacs reminds us, Maistre’s suspicion of technology and other aspects of the modern world would not have appealed to Mussolini and Hitler—any more than to American globalists.

This book, however, does go after other beliefs that may be less open to attack. These range from Lukacs’s attempt to depict the Communists as a non-radical force to his less than flattering portrait of post-World War II anti-Communists as populist nationalists or else utter fools. (The luckless Robert Taft is described as both.) Lukacs’s anti-

anti-Communism leads him astray. It prevents him from recognizing that postwar conservatives were often genuinely disgusted over Soviet mass murders, which exceeded even those of the Nazis. Furthermore, most pre-war isolationists were consistently anti-interventionist rather than shills for the Nazis, and the American Old Right was vocally anti-fascist throughout the ’30s. The anti-New Deal Right was inveighing against Mussolini as a proto-New Dealer at a time when the *New Republic* was still celebrating the *Duce* as a social reformer. Lukacs’s labeling of the ranting egalitarians Father Coughlin and Huey Long as American rightists is boilerplate textbook history. Coughlin launched his political-journalistic career as a leftist critic of the New Deal who complained about FDR as a tool of big business. He ended his life as a Great Society Democrat who admired JFK and LBJ. Lukacs, in denouncing the American Right, sets up and then attacks a straw man.

It is also not entirely accurate that the fascists were consistent populist revolutionaries and thereby the opposite of conservatives. Lukacs never examines the thesis of Ernst Nolte, which credibly presents European fascism as a “counterrevolutionary imitation of the Left.” Certainly Latin fascists, particularly the Spanish Falange, spoke of themselves as anti-Bolshevik traditionalists who were forced to fashion a mass movement. And while Lukacs correctly distinguishes interwar “authoritarian” conservatives Antonio Salazar of Portugal, Engelbert Dollfuss of Austria, and Admiral Horthy of Hungary from Nazi sympathizers, such leaders did have affinities to right-wing tendencies, whether Catholic corporatism or revolutionary nationalism, that fed into mild forms of fascism. (Dollfuss in Austria, who in the early ’30s allied himself with Mussolini against Hitler and whom the Nazis later killed, was a self-described “clerical fascist.”)

This may be one of the few cases of historical interpretation in which the Marxists were partly right. They clearly saw, although reducing it to a defense of capitalist interests, the anti-revolution-

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any aspect of European fascism. Lukacs considers this argument only in passing. Such a view does not clash with the distinctions that he labors over between the Old and New European Rights. But the two merged as often as they stood in opposition.

A problem with Lukacs's generally stimulating reassessments is his coming back to an obsolete European context. Is it true that "sixty years after 1945 a common denominator of just about *all* extreme nationalist parties and movements across the world, in such different countries as Italy or Hungary or Romania or Belgium or Argentina or even the United States is their often apparent admiration for Hitler's Germany, the once (or forever?) true Third Force of the world, transcending capitalism and communism"? This statement is not only a staggering overgeneralization but also difficult to demonstrate with precision. Neo-conservatives, whom Lukacs (rightly or wrongly) considers American right-wing nationalists, are obsessively anti-German and not only for the period of the Third Reich. Donald Kagan, Victor Davis Hanson, and Max Boot have all hailed Wilson's struggle against the German Empire in World War I as an inspiration for their own global democratic project. It is also hard to perceive any Germanophile

line in most of the present right-wing parties in Europe, despite the occasional and much publicized outbursts of Jean LePen against leftist Jewish critics on the relative importance of the Holocaust in European history. The most widely circulated "extreme right" newspaper in Germany, *Junge Freiheit*, is passionately anti-Nazi and stresses "German shame" for having supported Hitler.

Anti-immigration populists in Europe, with the possible exception of the German NDP, are not interwar fascists who have returned to plague us. They

promoting moral health. This double standard, which exempts Communists, supposedly testifies to the robust presence of Nazism: "We must hope that when the time for the abandonment of such proscriptions arrives, such a legal ruling will reflect a climate in which the symbols of Hitler's era will attract nothing more than historical curiosity." By now, however, anti-fascist proscriptions have been extended even to the symbols of Imperial Germany. Bismarck and Kaiser Bill have been indicted with other non-leftist German political figure before

**IF FREEDOM AND THE CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION THAT LUKACS VALUES ARE UNDER SIEGE IN EUROPE, IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF UBIQUITOUS FASCISM.**

are middle-class opponents of Third World immigration, and many of them who reside in Denmark, Holland, and Sweden are likewise embattled feminists and outspoken secularists. German leftists are not passing laws that prohibit politically incorrect speech because, as Lukacs suggests, they dread fascism around the corner. The post-Marxist Left in Europe is hungry for social control. Alas, Lukacs does not see this. Instead he tells us that laws in Germany and Austria forbidding the display of Nazi symbols, but not of Communist ones, are

1933 as forerunners of Hitler. And by citing the federal NDP vote, which is in single-digits, as a "neo-Nazi" threat to German constitutional government, the ruling leftist coalition, together with the centrist Union, is pushing through the Bundestag sweeping laws against hate speech and the right to assemble. One of them undoubtedly would get Lukacs into trouble for being too subtle about Judaeophobia.

If freedom and the Christian civilization that Lukacs values are under siege in Europe, it is not because of ubiquitous fascism. The German legal theorist Carl Schmitt was right to observe, "A historical truth is true only once." Whatever may have been the interwar confrontation between Communists and Fascists, or what Lukacs considers the parties of fear and hatred, their bloody battle is not being fought—or re-fought—in today's Europe. The selective invocation of a reconstructed past allows the ruling European Left to suppress bourgeois liberties and to turn Europe over to social engineers and Muslim activists. The interwar past should be allowed to pass on, so that we can recognize the challenges of the present age. ■

*Paul Gottfried is a professor of humanities at Elizabethtown College and the author of Multiculturalism and the Politics of Guilt.*

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# Gone With the Wind



America is a culture that admires success like no other. Its history is littered with names of men who pulled themselves up from log cabins to the

White House or from Russian ghettos to glitzy Hollywood palaces. Needless to say, the latter outnumber the former and then some, as they used to say in Hollywood before the Sammy Glicks took over the studios.

The first Hollywood tycoon I met was Spyros Skouras, a Spartan immigrant who became head of 20th Century Fox sometime in the forties. Skouras was an illiterate Greek boy when he arrived on these shores, and although he climbed quickly up the greasy Hollywood pole, he never lost the moral compass his peasant parents instilled in him. He was a kind, avuncular family man who used the office couch for post-prandial rests, unlike the rest of the sharks.

I will never forget when on a visit to Greece, Queen Frederika asked him which side he would take in the unlikely event of a war between Greece and America. "I owe everything to America, your majesty, and although it would break my heart, I would fight for Uncle Sam..." Gone with the wind is the Hollywood tycoon that was Skouras.

Jack Warner, of Warner Bros. fame, was a fixture on the French Riviera during the fifties, and although not as sweet as Spyros, a prince when compared to today's overpaid slobs. Warner recruited me for tennis—he was mad about the game—but after a while I got bored playing pitty-patty, began hitting rather hard, and hit myself out of his game as well as his Riviera parties. It was a dumb move because Jack's house was full of actresses, and as he put it himself, "You're a schmuck, kid."

Swiftly Lazar, of course, was and remains to this day a Hollywood legend, a very short and bald man with a very long reach. Lazar had to be the original Sammy Glick, although when Budd Schulberg wrote the novel *What Makes Sammy Run*, Lazar had not as yet become infamous for hustling among the Hollywood Hills. Like Skouras and Warner, Lazar had made it on his own, and like them had refined tastes and could tell the difference between Rimbaud and Rambo. In fact, he had a wonderful art collection which—a first for Hollywood—he had chosen himself. Swiftly and I had a so-so relationship, mostly because he hated liking someone who could be of no professional use to him.

My only other Hollywood friend is that wonderful actor Louis Jourdan, of "Gigi" and "Letter to an Unknown Woman" fame. Louis was close to being the perfect matinee idol of the fifties, a terribly nice man who read Baudelaire nonstop while his wife Kik complained to him that no one was about to make a film of "Les Fleurs du Mal." (Louis and Kik now spend their summers in Greece, and Louis has discovered the game of tennis.)

I've been thinking of Spyros and Swiftly and Louis because of my old friend Edward Jay Epstein's new book, *The Big Picture*, which captures the new logic of Hollywood like no other: moral corruption, utter cynicism, and tastelessness. The studios have found a new way of printing money, according to Ed, and it has nothing to do with talent. It has to do with home videos, TV and cable rights, and merchandise

licensing. As a result, movies don't have to be any good to make an enormous amount of money. A mere six companies control all home and personal entertainment, with only 18 percent of total revenues coming from ticket sales. Today's mass audience, 90 percent of the population, is to be found at home watching the garbage put out by the television studios, which in fact now own what used to be the major studios. Ditto for the cable networks. Home entertainment is now king, and the lower the common denominator, the more profitable. The dream factories that once upon a time made Hollywood synonymous with the American dream have gone the Rupert Murdoch way, down and dirty.

According to screenwriter Joe Eszterhas, a modern Hollywood person is one with a complete self-absorption, a total inability to treat another human being as a human being, and an absolute fixation on success. That's putting it mildly. I once lunched with the egregious Hollywood superagent Michael Ovitz. Agents used to be known as bloodsuckers; Ovitz gave bloodsuckers a bad name. He was arrogant and aggressive, but I, too, can be the latter. He talked about his martial-arts training. I suggested that training at home with an instructor is like shadow boxing. Real martial artists enter tournaments or accept single-combat challenges inside a closed dojo. Lunch soon ended.

What worries me is the subconscious hold that movies exert over our imaginations, especially those of the youth. Nowadays the young prefer entertainment to exceed reality, ergo the endless car-crashes, explosions, and violence, so acting means being aggressive, foul-mouthed, and anti-social.

Spyros, Jack, Swiftly, where are you now that we really need you? ■



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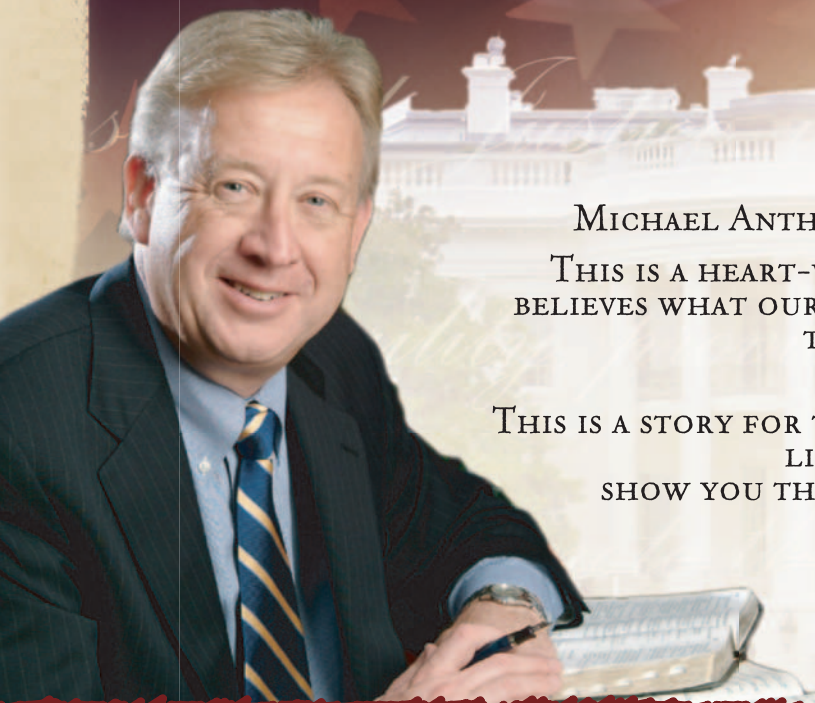


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